

**Auxiliary Selection in the Romance Languages.
Synchrony and Diachrony**


by

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I hereby declare that this thesis is my own work and that to the best of my knowledge all sources have been acknowledged.

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to read 'Laura Daniliuc', with a long horizontal stroke extending to the right.

Laura Daniliuc



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Abstract

By exploring auxiliary selection in the Romance languages and its origins and historical development, this thesis offers a larger perspective on the choice between the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE in this language family. Auxiliary selection is not a new topic in linguistics, studies in this area dating from the late 19th century. It began receiving particular attention in the late 1970's and many analyses on this topic were written in the framework of the Unaccusative Hypothesis. The aim of this thesis, and, at the same time, its novelty, is threefold: to provide a fresh description of auxiliary selection in synchrony; to investigate the evolution of auxiliary selection in the history of the Romance languages, and to provide an explanation for the origins of this process.

The synchronic analysis of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages has lead to a classification of these languages according to the degree of complexity manifested in the choice of the perfect auxiliary. The diachronic investigation of auxiliary selection complements the synchronic analysis and emphasizes the fact that the present day situation is actually the result of semantic and syntactic changes which affected this process over the centuries. Several languages are taking into account, including the less-studied ones, within the limits of data availability, as it is the aim of this thesis to describe auxiliary selection and its implications in as many Romance languages as possible. Special attention will be paid to Romanian, the only member of the Romance family which does not show any evidence of auxiliary selection in its history.

This thesis supports the hypothesis that the structure BE plus past participle, the counterpart of the HAVE periphrasis in some Romance languages, does not derive from the Latin class of deponent verbs, as it is generally assumed, but it is an early Romance development, similar to the one that occurred in other language families, such as Germanic, which did not have deponent verbs. A detailed analysis of Latin deponent verbs is provided, including several aspects of their historical development from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Romance. It is argued that this verbal class disappeared gradually and completely, leaving no traces in the Romance languages. It

is suggested that the Romance Compound Past using the perfect auxiliary BE developed from the use of the copula with the past participle of intransitive verbs in Late Latin. In diachronic syntactical terms, this change is interpreted as the reanalysis of copular *esse* + past participle structure as perfect auxiliary *esse* + past participle, which was later actualized as the counterpart of the *habere* + past participle structure, the new analytic structure with perfect meaning in the Romance languages.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

This thesis investigates the process of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages from a new perspective which combines the synchronic and diachronic approaches. It is intended as a contribution to a better understanding of auxiliary selection in particular and of language change in general. The aim of this thesis, and, at the same time, its novelty, is threefold: to provide a fresh description of auxiliary selection in synchrony; to investigate the evolution of auxiliary selection in the history of the Romance languages, and to explain the origins of this process.

This inquiry into auxiliary selection in the Romance languages suggests that a systematic understanding of the process is not possible through a synchronic analysis only, which investigates auxiliary selection at a particular point in its historical evolution and, therefore, does not account for previous or future changes in the actual manifestations of the phenomenon. The review of the studies on auxiliary selection in this chapter will also support this idea. The present approach considers auxiliary selection panchronically, i.e. it recognizes diachrony no less important than synchrony. One chapter of the thesis is devoted to the synchronic description of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages, while another chapter will analyse its historical evolution, which shows diversity and variation from language to language within the same family and from dialect to dialect within the same language. The final chapter will evaluate the findings and will suggest a new perspective on the origins and early development of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages in the context of the syntactic changes undergone by Latin in the process of transition to the early Romance languages.

The present chapter is a general introduction to auxiliary selection as it appears in a variety of language families and as it has been treated in linguistic studies, particularly in the last thirty years. My aim is to identify the major trends in approaching this phenomenon which was recognized by early descriptive grammarians. Special attention will be paid to the studies on auxiliary selection in the general framework of unaccusativity. This chapter will also review some of the

more recent, post unaccusativity, approaches to auxiliary selection, mainly those with specific reference to the Romance languages.

1.1. The term “auxiliary selection”

It has often been noted that in several languages different auxiliaries are used with perfect participles to express different tenses and moods. This situation is often referred to as auxiliary selection.

There are different types of auxiliary selection. One refers to the choice of the perfect auxiliary according to the different meanings of a verb. In the Rhaeto-Romance dialect of Surselvan the same intransitive verb may occur with either auxiliary, depending on whether the action described is viewed as completed, in which case BE is appropriate, or merely terminated, in which case HAVE is chosen. Compare *el ej morts* *Sko kwej k el ej viviws* ‘He died as he lived’ (completed action) and *pli bawl vesəs ti viviw in əntir ɔn* ‘Earlier, you could have lived a whole year’ (non-completed action) (cf. Haiman and Benincà 1992:109).

In some Italian dialects, such as Neapolitan, Abruzzo, Molise, the selection of the perfect auxiliary depends on the person of the verb. This type of selection consists in the preference of selecting BE as perfect auxiliary with verbs in the first person and HAVE with verbs in the third person. Compare Neapolitan *so’ visto a Ciro* ‘I have seen Ciro’ and *ha visto a Ciro* ‘he has seen Ciro’ (cf. Ledgeway 2000: 186).

Another type of variation involves the selection of auxiliaries according to tense. In some Italian dialects the Compound Past is made up of the auxiliary HAVE and the Pluperfect with the auxiliary BE. Compare Procidano *hó visto a Ciri* ‘I have seen Ciro’ (Compound Past with HAVE) and *fove visto a Ciro* ‘I had seen Ciro’ (Pluperfect with BE) (cf. Ledgeway 2000:186). Romanian uses the auxiliary HAVE to form the Compound Past (e.g. *am plecat* ‘I have left’), but BE in tenses such as anterior future, perfect subjunctive and perfect conditional (e.g. *voi fi plecat* ‘I shall have gone’, *să fi plecat* ‘that I have left’, *aş fi plecat* ‘I would have left’).

The most common (and the most studied) type of auxiliary selection refers to the ability of verbs to choose their perfect auxiliary. While all transitive verbs select HAVE, intransitive verbs select either HAVE or BE, depending on a variety of factors.

The following sets of examples from the French and Italian Compound Past tense illustrate the difference. The perfect auxiliary is in bold type, BE in the first example and HAVE in the latter example in each set:

(1) French

*Jean **est** arrivé.*

Jean is arrived:m.sg

‘Jean has arrived.’

*Jean **a** téléphoné.*

Jean has called:m.sg

‘Jean has called.’

(2) Italian

*Giovanni **è** arrivato.*

Giovanni is arrived:m.sg

‘Giovanni has arrived’.

*Giovanni **ha** telefonato.*

Giovanni has called:m.sg

‘Giovanni has called.’

This type of auxiliary selection is found in a number of Romance and Germanic languages. I will refer to this type of selection as lexical auxiliary selection: verbs belonging to certain lexical classes, such as verbs denoting transitions and states, are likely to select the auxiliary BE, whereas verbs from other lexical classes, such as verbs denoting processes, will select HAVE. However, there is variation from language to language within the same family (e.g. auxiliary selection in French is different from auxiliary selection in Standard Italian) and from dialect to dialect within the same language (e.g. auxiliary selection displays a great variety among Italian dialects).

The purpose of this thesis is to investigate the different manifestations of this type of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. Whenever data is available, the other types of auxiliary selection will also be discussed.

In languages with lexical auxiliary selection the same perfect auxiliary is used in all compound tenses. The following table illustrates the French tenses affected by auxiliary selection:

Table 1.1 Lexical Auxiliary selection in French

| Mood | Tense | Form |
|-------------|--|--|
| INDICATIVE | Compound Past Pluperfect Anterior Perfect Anterior Future | avoir/être (present) + participle avoir/être (imperfect) + participle avoir/être (simple perfect) + participle avoir/être (future) + participle |
| SUBJUNCTIVE | Perfect Pluperfect | avoir/être (present subjunctive) + participle avoir/être (imperfect subjunctive) + participle |
| CONDITIONAL | Perfect | avoir/être (present conditional) + participle |

The auxiliary which appears in this type of structure is known as ‘perfect auxiliary’. Different tenses of the perfect auxiliary are used to form different compound tenses: cf. perfect auxiliary in the present for the Compound Past (e.g. *j’ai mangé* ‘I have eaten’, *je suis parti* ‘I have left’), perfect auxiliary in the Imperfect for the Pluperfect (e.g. *j’avais mangé* ‘I had eaten’, *j’étais parti* ‘I had left’), etc. The choice of the perfect auxiliary may affect the form of the past participle: when the perfect auxiliary is HAVE the participle is invariable, but when the auxiliary is BE the participle agrees in gender and number with the subject (cf. *je suis parti* ‘I (masc.) have left’ vs *nous sommes parties* ‘we (fem.) have left’). If a verb selects a certain auxiliary in a compound tense, it will select the same auxiliary for all compound tenses, e.g. *j’ai mangé* ‘I have eaten’, *j’avais mangé* ‘I had eaten’, *j’aurai mangé* ‘I will have eaten’, etc. and *je suis parti* ‘I have left’, *j’étais parti* ‘I had left’, *je serai parti* ‘I will have left’, etc.

With respect to the lexical selection of the perfect auxiliary, languages have generally been classified as follows:

1. Languages that have only one perfect auxiliary. Several groups can be identified within this class:
 - a. Languages in which the perfect auxiliary is HAVE (e.g. English, Greek, Icelandic, Spanish, Swedish): cf. Icelandic *hef gert* 'I have done';
 - b. Languages in which the perfect auxiliary is BE (e.g. Bulgarian and other Slavic languages, Welsh): cf. Bulgarian *pisal e* 'he has written';
 - c. Languages in which a perfect auxiliary other than HAVE or BE is used: e.g. *anar* 'go' in Catalan, etc.
2. Languages that make a selection between HAVE and BE with some intransitive verbs (e.g. Dutch, Danish, French, German, Italian): cf. Dutch *heb gewerkt* 'I have worked' vs. *ben gegaan* 'I have gone', literally 'I am gone'.

This thesis addresses some major issues concerning lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages, such as the status and distribution of the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE in a panchronic perspective. I agree with the general argument expressed in Kuteva (2001:6) that "the main problem regarding auxiliation is that the dynamic character of the auxiliation phenomenon has generally gone unrecognized as a factor which can account for auxiliaries and the way they behave". The perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE and the selection between them vary both within a single language and across languages. The dynamic character of lexical auxiliary selection is best revealed in a diachronic analysis and this issue has often been ignored in the synchronic approaches to the topic. The originality of this thesis lies in the fact that it complements the synchronic investigation of auxiliary selection by a historical examination of its development. The outcome is a step forward towards the understanding of the process as a whole, which allows the formulation of a general assumption regarding the origin of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages.

1.2. Organization of the thesis and basic approach

It is the purpose of this thesis to examine the intricate aspects of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages both in synchrony and diachrony. The project seeks to address several important questions that previous studies did not answer.

Previous works on auxiliary selection have focused on either the semantic or the syntactic dimensions of this phenomenon, typically from a synchronic perspective. The main contribution of this thesis is to bring a closer look at the facts through an additional diachronic angle, following the evolution of the phenomenon under question from Latin up to nowadays.

The present thesis is organized as follows.

The first chapter introduces the phenomenon of auxiliary selection as it appears in a variety of language families and as it has been treated in linguistic studies, particularly in the last thirty years. It also reviews some of the more recent approaches to auxiliary selection, mainly those with specific reference to the Romance languages, and it points to the advantages of a diachronic perspective on auxiliary selection.

The second chapter deals with the synchronic analysis of auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages. It will be shown that while French and Italian have received special attention with respect to auxiliary selection, other Romance languages have been completely ignored or described in less accessible frameworks. As the aim of this thesis is to describe auxiliary selection and its implications in all the languages belonging to this family, I will endeavor to take into account as many Romance varieties as possible, within the limits of data availability. Thus, the originality of this synchronic description of auxiliary selection is to offer and compare data from many Romance languages.

The third chapter will examine auxiliary selection in its diachronic evolution. The aim of this investigation is to complete the general picture of auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages described in the previous chapter and to emphasize the fact that the present day situation is actually the result of historical semantic and syntactic changes which affected this process over the centuries.

The fourth chapter will evaluate the possible role of Latin deponent verbs for the history of the Romance structure using BE as perfect auxiliary and a past participle. A detailed analysis of Latin deponent verbs will be provided, including several aspects of their historical development from Proto-Indo-European to Proto-Romance. The emergence of HAVE as perfect auxiliary in Proto-Romance will also be discussed in this chapter.

The fifth chapter will show that a detailed diachronic view can substantiate, as well as refine, the modern perception of auxiliary selection. Moreover, it will be

suggested that while the emergence of HAVE as perfect auxiliary was soon associated with a verbal tense, the structure involving BE and the past participle of some intransitive verbs was first used as a copular construction, and only later came to be the counterpart of the HAVE periphrasis. I will also test this hypothesis against the theories of reanalysis and actualization (cf. Timberlake 1977, Harris & Campbell 1995, and Andersen 2001) and against Dik's theory of Copula Auxiliation (1987).

The conclusion will summarize and evaluate the main findings of this thesis, with suggestions for further exploration of this particular topic and of other general topics in the area of historical linguistics.

The main aims of this thesis are as follows: to provide an up-to-date synchronic description of auxiliary selection in all Romance languages; to provide a diachronic investigation of the phenomenon which would complement the synchronic analysis and offer a new perspective on this topic; and to account for the origins and evolution of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. The significance of the thesis lies in providing access to synchronic and diachronic data from both well-known and less-known Romance languages and in offering an overall perspective of the present state of auxiliary selection in this language family, as well as a general overview of its historical evolution.

1.3. Languages used in this thesis

This thesis involves the study of lexical auxiliary selection as manifested in all standard members of the Romance family of languages.

My investigation is generally based on descriptive grammars and language corpora, subject to limitations on availability of data, particularly in the case of earlier stages of the languages. Where information was presented in a particular theoretical framework, I have tried to leave the framework aside and make the data relevant for the purpose of this thesis.

The main goal in choosing the examination of as many Romance languages as possible, including some dialects, was to observe the very many instances of lexical auxiliary selection at its modern stage and of its independent diachronic developments in several related languages. The synchronic analysis of lexical auxiliary selection in Chapter 2 includes seven Romance languages: French, Catalan, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romance, and Romanian. The diachronic

analysis in Chapter 3 studies eight Romance languages: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, French, Occitan, Italian, Dalmatian, and Romanian.

In this thesis I have followed the structural division of the Romance languages presented in Harris & Vincent (1988). They acknowledge the existence of nine modern Romance languages. Five of them are recognized as national standard languages: Portuguese, Spanish, French, Italian, and Romanian. Catalan is the official language in one sovereign state (Andorra) and together with Castilian it has official status in three Spanish autonomous communities. Catalan is also the seventh most-spoken language in the European Union. The 'language' status is usually accorded to Occitan on cultural/literary grounds, though most of its speakers are bilingual in French. The literary tradition of Occitan refers primarily to medieval Provençal, whose modern manifestation is properly considered a constituent dialect of Occitan. On linguistic grounds, Sardinian, which has never enjoyed any official status since the Middle Ages (cf. Jones 1988:314), is often described as a language, despite its internal heterogeneity. Rhaeto-Romance is used as a cover term for a number of varieties spoken in southern Switzerland (principally Engadinish, Romansh and Surselvan) and in the Dolomites, but it is no longer taken to subsume Friulian (cf. Green 1990:194). See Chapter 2, section 2.7. for the division of the major Rhaeto-Romance dialect groups.

The only member of the eastern (Balkan) branch of the Romance language family which has survived up to nowadays is Romanian, one of the less known and studied Romance languages. Mallinson (1990:293) argues that the relative neglect of Balkan Romance by linguists in favor of the Western Romance languages is attributable in part to the geographical isolation of the country where most Romanian speakers live. But it was not geography that isolated Romanian from its sister languages, it was the linguistic position between Slavic languages to the North, East, and South, and Hungarian to the West that determined the lack of contact with the other Romance languages.

The form of Romanian which is usually described in linguistic studies, and hence in this thesis as well (see Chapter 2, section 2.8. for further clarifications), is Daco-Romanian (or Romanian proper), whose name is associated with the Roman province of Dacia, established on the north bank of the lower Danube and part of the Roman Empire for a relatively short period (165 years) from the first decade of the second century to AD 271. There are three other Romanian dialects, isolated from

each other as a result of the barbarian migrations from 500 to 1000 AD:¹ Aromanian, also known as Macedo-Rumanian, spoken in scattered communities in Albania, Northern Greece, Albanian and southern Yugoslavia; Megleno-Romanian, spoken around the city of Meglena in Southern Macedonia (Greece); and Istro-Romanian, spoken in the Istrian Peninsula of western Yugoslavia. All four dialects are believed to have a common origin, with the primary split dating from the second half of the first millennium. Linguists agree that the four Romanian dialects are very closely related, but Megleno-Romanian, Istro-Romanian and Aromanian have each been profoundly influenced by the languages of the territories on which they are spoken.

I will not take into consideration the Daco-Romanian variant spoken in the Republic of Moldova. During the period when the region was incorporated in the former Soviet Union (1939-1991), the language was officially called Moldavian, written in the Russian variant of the Cyrillic alphabet, and held by Soviet scholars to be an independent Romance language. Since 1989, however, the language has again adopted the Latin alphabet. A very small number of linguists, particularly of Soviet formation, still claim this variety is another Romance language and call it Moldovan. I strongly disagree with this view.

1.4. Approaches to auxiliary selection

As shown in the previous sections, lexical auxiliary selection is a phenomenon found in a variety of languages and its roots can be traced historically. It is the aim of this section to review the early literature on this topic, as the problem of lexical auxiliary selection has been acknowledged by early descriptive grammars of the Romance languages in particular, such as the famous *Grammaire de Port-Royal* (1676). Probably the term auxiliary selection is somewhat inappropriate in discussing these works because they mainly focus on Latin synthetic forms which turned analytic in Romance and actually ignore the selection of perfect auxiliaries. Auxiliary selection as a term has become fashionable with the advent of unaccusativity in the 1970's, and especially thanks to Rosen's (1984) influential study. For the sake of consistency, I will however use this term in reviewing the

¹ There is disagreement, particularly among Romanian linguists, about the classification of Romanian dialects. Some argue that variants that are traditionally considered to be dialects should now be considered separate languages.

literature discussing the structure auxiliary + past participle which expresses perfect tense.

1.4.1. The first studies of auxiliary selection – the 19th and early 20th centuries

Linguistics in the 19th century was characterized by the success of the comparative method which led to detailed descriptions of different languages and language families. In the case of the Romance languages, linguists focused especially on the changes that Latin had undergone in the process of the formation of the new Romance languages. The most interesting morphosyntactic change was that from syntheticity to analyticity and the verbal system was one of the most affected in this respect. The creation of a new compound past tense (to which I shall refer in this thesis as ‘Compound Past’), replacing, totally or partially, the old Latin synthetic perfect captivated the attention of linguists. What was really intriguing was the use of the verb HAVE as a tense auxiliary and most of the studies in this respect tried to explain the origins of this auxiliary use. Parallels were drawn between Latin and other Indo-European languages which use the same structure in a similar way.

However, there are only a few mentions of the existence of a choice between HAVE and BE as perfect auxiliaries in the Romance languages. BE was already an auxiliary in languages such as Latin, Gothic, and Old Icelandic, either as an auxiliary of voice or as a tense auxiliary. The case of HAVE was more interesting, because it was something new, unusual and exciting and it needed a thorough investigation. When the two perfect auxiliaries are discussed within the same study, the focus is on the different meanings of the two constructions, with BE pointing to state or change of state and HAVE indicating action.

In a review of the literature on the replacement of Latin synthetic forms by analytic constructions in the Romance languages, Vincent (1982:71ff) identifies three principal weaknesses that mark the analyses of this complex linguistic phenomenon:

1. There is an “atomistic tendency” to discuss separately the constructions involving the auxiliaries HAVE and BE plus a past participle, i.e. forms expressing the Compound Past and the passive voice. Such analyses offer an adequate documentation of the facts, but lack a unified account of their historical development. See the section 1.4.1.5. on Bourciez (1967) below.

2. In studies mentioning both HAVE and BE as auxiliaries of the Compound Past, there is an inclination towards explaining the facts through the general distinction between transitive and intransitive verbs. As Vincent points out (1982:73), these studies lack an “adequate theory of verbal classification which will allow for more subtle distinctions than those traditionally made”. However, some linguists have tried to identify further distinctions within these classes to support the distribution of the two auxiliaries. See the section 1.4.1.1. on Meyer-Lübke (1899) below.
3. Vincent also complains about the vagueness of the explanations regarding the development of the periphrastic uses of HAVE and BE in the Romance languages. The process by which HAVE and BE come to be used as auxiliaries is commonly referred to as ‘grammaticalization’ (See the section 1.4.1.2. on Meillet (1909, 1912) below), but studies on this aspect are most of the time ambiguous.

Vincent was right in recognizing that the problems involving the Romance perfect auxiliaries were waiting for the right explanation and the next sections will show that indeed the treatment of the Romance Compound Past tense, particularly the instances where BE is used as a perfect auxiliary, has not offered a satisfactory answer to the questions related to the distribution and development of the two auxiliaries.

1.4.1.1. Meyer-Lübke (1899)²

In his elaborate study on the grammar of the Romance languages, Meyer-Lübke investigates analytic verbal constructions which he classifies according to the form of the verb: participial, gerundial and infinitival constructions. The first category, that of periphrases with a participle, includes constructions which involve the use of different auxiliaries, such as HABERE, ESSE, TENERE, FIERI, and VENIRE. According to Meyer-Lübke, the most important construction is that with HABERE, which first appeared with verbs denoting an intellectual activity: *cognitum habeo* ‘I have thought’.³ Meyer-Lübke’s explanation of this combination is that it is particularly with this class of verbs that the change towards the idea of perfect is best

² For this section I shall use the 1974 French translation by E. Rabiét et al.

³ This idea is supported by more recent studies: Benveniste 1968:86-9, Vincent 1982:83-5, and Pinkster 1987:200, 204-5.

achieved (1974:324). Later on, this new auxiliary came to be used with many other verbs and the meaning of the construction pointed to an action completely achieved by the present (1974:336). Meyer-Lübke also comments on the differences between this periphrasis and the preterite in several Romance dialects, and his remarks are particularly valuable for a historical approach to the semantic and functional differences between the two tenses (see the discussion in the next chapter on the relationship between the simple perfect and the compound perfect in present-day Romance).

The counterpart of the HABERE periphrases is the constructions involving ESSE and a participle.⁴ Meyer-Lübke focuses only on the semantic differences between them and compares them to those between the Latin active and passive voice (1974:325), i.e. with HABERE the ‘property’ expressed by the participle is attributed to the object, with ESSE, the subject.⁵ That is, ESSE expresses the state of the agent, while HABERE indicates an activity. Meyer-Lübke points to the fact that some verbs can use both auxiliaries if their meaning allows the expression of both a state and an activity: cf. French *il est chanté* ‘it is sung’ (state) versus *il a chanté* ‘he has sung’ (activity). Besides the verbs accepting the two auxiliaries, there is a small number of verbs which allow only one auxiliary, according to their meaning (1974:325-6): verbs selecting only HABERE refer to activity accomplished by a single agent, without an exterior interference (cf. French *j’ai dormi* ‘I have slept’), while verbs selecting only ESSE only suggest a state or a change of state (cf. French *il est mort* ‘he has died’). Meyer-Lübke notices the tendency in the Romance languages to suppress the use of ESSE with the latter category of verbs in favor HABERE, and suggests that either a conceptual difference, i.e. a predominance of the idea of activity, or ‘mechanic’ assimilation, i.e. analogy, would be the causes of this trend (1974:326).

1.4.1.2. Meillet (1909, 1912)

Studying the disappearance of the simple forms of the preterite in Indo-European languages, Meillet (1909:154) explains this process by the appearance of a new compound construction and by its generalization over the old simple form.

⁴ This category includes both the passive voice and the compound perfect and it is only later in his study that Meyer-Lübke makes a clear distinction between them.

⁵ By this comparison, Meyer-Lübke foreshadows the modern syntactic approaches to auxiliary selection (see the next section).

Without distinguishing the different auxiliaries entering the new compound past form, Meillet points to its morphological advantages that have led to the gradual exclusion of the simple form: the same structure for all verbs instead of several types of inflection with weak and strong verbs. Meillet refers to this process as a “linguistic revolution” which has suppressed one of the most complicated classes of verbal forms in French. An explanation of the creation of the new compound past form is offered in Meillet (1912:141ff): the construction *habeo dictum* ‘I have said’, which appeared in Proto-Romance with the original meaning ‘I own something that is said’, is based on the Latin compound forms expressing the passive voice (*dictus est* ‘he is said’) and the impersonal passive (*dictum est* ‘it is said’). There is no mention, however, of the use of BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages.

1.4.1.3. Kurylowicz (1931, 1964)

Kurylowicz’s (1931) study of the compound tenses in Romance brings into discussion, beside the traditional transitive-intransitive distinction, the notion of causativity as illustrated by the relationship between Lat. *discit puer litteras graecas* ‘The child learns the Greek letters’ vs. *doceo puerum litteras graecas* ‘I teach the child the Greek letters’. Kurylowicz claims that in the first stages of the Romance languages the compound tense using HAVE as auxiliary may have a transitive value even when the verb is an intransitive one: cf. Old French *mort as mon filz*, literally ‘dead hast my son’, implying ‘my son has been killed’. Later developments either generalize this causative usage or eliminate it. In the first case, the old intransitive value co-exists with the causative one, cf. Spanish *correr* ‘run’ and ‘chase’, French *entrer* ‘enter’ and ‘make something enter’. In the second case, the descendants of Latin verbs like *mori* gradually lose the causative value, i.e. the meaning ‘kill’, which was common in the earlier stages.

As none of the verbs belonging to this latter category was causative in Latin, Kurylowicz claims that their causative value was limited to the Romance compound tense with HAVE and, following the ideas of Schuchardt,⁶ that this new compound tense actually continues a passive construction. Thus, as the meaning of *habere* in Classical Latin was actually ‘hold’ and as the idea of possession was expressed by the structure Dative + *esse*, the vulgar construction *habeo factum* ‘I have done’, the

⁶ Schuchardt claims that etymologically the transitive construction generally continues the passive construction.

forerunner of the Romance Compound Past tense, is a continuation of *mihi factum est*, literally ‘to me done it is’. Kurylowicz claims that the Vulgar Latin *habeo factum* is not an innovation, but a mechanical transformation of *mihi factum est*, which, in turn, is nothing else but a passive construction equivalent to *a me factum est*. The Latin structure Dative + *esse*, also known as *Dativus auctoris*, was very frequent⁷ until the 3rd century AD. It is then that Kurylowicz places the change from *mihi factum est* to *habeo factum*, i.e. from Dative + *esse* + Nominative, a passive construction, to Nominative + *habere* + Accusative, an active structure.

The 1931 study does not mention the Romance Compound Past tense using the auxiliary BE, but Kurylowicz attempts to explain it in 1964, in discussing the major changes from Indo-European to modern languages. His explanation is based on the semantics of the participle. Thus, a form like Latin *laudatus*, passive or past participle of *laudare*, has two semantic values, a primary which is perfective (with the meaning ‘praised’), and a secondary, imperfective (meaning ‘being praised’). The imperfective function is due, Kurylowicz believes, to the fact that whereas in languages like Greek the mediopassive has both present and past (aorist) participles, Latin has at its disposal only one passive participle. The distribution of these two functions in Latin is presented as follows:

Laudatus₁ est as inflectional form (meaning ‘s/he was praised’) is described as the periphrastic form of the perfect passive opposed to the present passive *laudatur* with respect to tense and to the perfect active *laudavi* with respect to voice.

Laudatus₂ est as derivative form (meaning s/he has been praised’) is described as the syntactical group opposed to the present passive *laudatur*.

These functions are summarized in the table below:

Table 1.2

| | Perfect Active | Perfect Passive | Present Passive |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| inflectional level | <i>laudavi</i> | <i>laudatus₁ est</i> | <i>laudatur</i> |
| derivational level | - | - | <i>laudatus₂ est</i> |

⁷ This affirmation is based on the statistical study of Tillmann (1881), which shows that *Dativus auctoris* was used with periphrastic verbal forms in more that 75% of the examples from his corpora.

But this distribution will undergo an important change in Vulgar Latin and later on in the Romance languages. As shown in the table below, the form *laudatus₂ est* penetrates into the inflectional level replacing *laudatur* and becoming the normal exponent of the present passive. As a result, the old perfect passive (*laudatus₁ est*) is replaced by *laudatus fuit*, the old structure *laudatus₁ est* being used henceforth only to indicate a state resulting from a past action. Note that the index 1 always refers to the inflectional level, whereas 2 refers to the derivational level:

(*laudatus est*)₁ as inflectional form = (periphrastic form of the) present passive opposed to *laudatus fuit*, the new perfect passive, with respect to tense, and to *laudat*, the present active, with respect to voice.

(*laudatus est*)₂ as derivative form = (syntactical group) opposed to the new perfect passive *laudatus fuit*.

These functions are summarized in the table below:

Table 1.3

| | Present Active | Present Passive | Perfect Passive |
|--------------------|----------------|---------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| inflectional level | <i>laudat</i> | <i>laudatus₁ est</i> | <i>laudatus fuit</i> |
| derivational level | - | - | <i>laudatus₂ est</i> |

Kurylowicz’s conclusion (1964:56) is that in the Romance languages the distribution of the values of *laudatus est* will be: primary function = durative or imperfective; secondary function = state.

Kurylowicz claims that the periphrastic form with the auxiliary BE and with perfect value survived as a rule only in intransitive (deponent) verbs like **mortu(u)s est* or **ven(u)tus est*. He also believes that this situation is simply explained by the absence of a present passive form competing with the perfect, as in the case of *laudatur* vs *laudatus est*.

1.4.1.4. Benveniste (1960, 1965)

Benveniste (1960) draws a parallel between the uses, meanings and functions of the verbs HAVE and BE in a variety of Indo-European languages both from a

historical and from a descriptive perspective. After trying to define the two verbs, Benveniste (1960:194) points to the fact that HAVE and BE have both common and individual properties, illustrated as follows, with examples from French:

1. Both BE and HAVE have the formal status of temporal auxiliaries.
2. Neither BE nor HAVE can have passive forms.
3. BE and HAVE as temporal auxiliaries can accompany the same verbs under certain circumstances: *il s'est blessé* 'he has hurt himself', *il m'a blessé* 'he has hurt me'.
4. Otherwise, the auxiliaries BE and HAVE are distributed complementarily, i.e. all verbs have either one or the other (e.g. *il est arrivé* 'he has arrived', *il a mangé* 'he has eaten'), including BE and HAVE themselves (which take HAVE in Modern French, e.g. *il a été* 'he has been', *il a eu* 'he has had').

Another common property of both BE and HAVE that Benveniste (1965:198) mentions in his analysis is that they are defined as state verbs, BE pointing to the state of being (*l'état de l'étant, celui qui est quelque chose*), and HAVE indicating the state of having (*l'état de l'ayant, celui à qui quelque chose est*). Therefore BE establishes an intrinsic relationship of identity between the two terms it joins, while HAVE establishes an extrinsic relationship, the relationship between the possessor and the possessee, so that the two terms remain distinct.

Benveniste (1960) supports the ideas expressed in Kurylowicz (1931) that *mihi est* was replaced by *habeo* not only as a lexical term, but also as an element marking the perfect tense. However, as his study does not focus on the Romance languages, little is said on the use of BE as perfect auxiliary.

But Benveniste comes back to this topic in another study (1965) which deals with the relationships involved in auxiliary constructions. In discussing the perfect auxiliaries in French, Benveniste defines the structure with HAVE as indicating achievement of an action and the one with BE as achievement of a situation. But what Benveniste focuses on is not the origin of BE as perfect auxiliary or the class of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, but the mechanisms by which auxiliaries such as HAVE and BE have come to express perfect tense. His conclusion is that it is the meaning of the auxiliary and the form of the past participle that combine together to create the value of the perfect. The auxiliary has an inflectional

function, indicating person, number, mood and voice, while the past participle has a denotational function, i.e. it is a lexical identification of the verb (1965:184). But only the sum of their functions ensures a temporal function and creates the perfect value of the whole structure.

1.4.1.5. Bourciez (1967)

In his chapter on the evolution of the sentence, Bourciez (1967:266ff) briefly deals with verbal periphrases in the passage from Latin to the Romance languages. He first explains the triumph of the analytic passive form *amatus est* over *amatur* ‘he is loved’ under the influence of forms such as *est carus* ‘it is precious’, i.e. forms in which the verb *esse* was used as a copula. Other forms such as *est secutus* ‘he followed’, i.e. deponent verbs, modeled, Bourciez argues, the creation of new forms such as **est venutus*, **est intratus*, i.e. compound past forms with the auxiliary BE. In the case of the passage from *cinxi spatham* ‘I girded the sword’ to *habeo spatham cinctam*, literally ‘I have the sword girded’, Bourciez only mentions that the auxiliary HAVE has lost the meaning of possession and that the whole construction has come to indicate a past action with present consequences.

Taking into consideration the novelty of the use of HAVE as perfect auxiliary and its prevalence over BE in most of the present-day Romance languages, it is obvious why linguists have concentrated only on the most common auxiliary to the detriment of the least used one.

Now that the problems of the origin and development of HAVE as perfect auxiliary had been clarified somewhat, it was high time for linguists to turn their attention to the counterpart of HAVE and to explain the use of BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages. The next section will show how the problem was solved in the last 30 years of the 20th century and what frameworks were adopted to explain the uses of the two perfect auxiliaries in Romance.

1.4.2. Auxiliary Selection and Unaccusativity

1.4.2.1. The Unaccusative Hypothesis

After years of complete disregard, the study of lexical auxiliary selection captured linguists’ attention in the 1970’s, with the advent of Relational Grammar.

By that time, the traditional view on transitivity implied the distinction between verbs with one obligatory argument, the subject, and verbs that minimally need two arguments for a well formed predication. However, linguists observed that the first category of verbs, i.e. the class of verbs traditional grammar labels as ‘intransitive’, is not homogeneous as its elements can be distinguished by their grammatical behaviour: the unique argument of intransitive verbs sometimes behaves like a subject, while other times it behaves like a direct object, so that the behaviour of this class of intransitive verbs resembles that of transitives. This phenomenon is also known in linguists as ‘split intransitivity’.

Following the influential study of Perlmutter (1978), contemporary syntax divides intransitive verbs into two sub-classes, generally known as ‘unaccusatives’ and ‘unergatives’,⁸ which differ in terms of the assignment of a theta-role to the subject position: the argument of an unaccusative verb is at the deepest syntactic level a direct object, while the argument of an unergative verb is a subject. Using Relational Grammar terminology, unaccusative verbs take an initial 2 (‘direct object’), while unergatives take an initial 1 (‘subject’). The following examples from Perlmutter (1978:160-1) illustrate the difference:

(3) Gorillas **exist**. Unaccusative

(4) Gorillas **play** at night. Unergative

This split in the class of intransitive verbs constitutes the basic claim of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, as first formalized in relational Grammar and then adopted by Government & Binding Theory, and under this hypothesis the analyses carried out during the past decades brought to light important and controversial issues of how unergativity and especially unaccusativity can be determined.

As early as 1978, Perlmutter (1978:161) identified three distinct versions of the Unaccusative Hypothesis according to the extent to which initial unaccusativity versus initial unergativity is cross-linguistically uniform and also to the extent to which it varies from language to language:

⁸ Perlmutter attributes the terms ‘unaccusative’ and ‘unergative’ to Geoffrey Pullum (1978:186).

(5) Versions of the Unaccusative Hypothesis as identified by Perlmutter 1978

1. In the first version of the hypothesis initial unaccusativity versus unergativity differs from language to language in such a way that it is impossible to foresee which clauses in a given language will be initially unergative and which initially unaccusative.
2. Under the second version, there are principles which predict initial unergativity or initial unaccusativity for a certain class of initially intransitive clauses in all languages. There exists another class of such clauses whose initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity varies from language to language.
3. The final version of the Unaccusative Hypothesis is also the strongest one. It states that initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity is universally predictable on the basis of the semantics of the clause. Thus, initial unergativity vs. unaccusativity cannot vary from language to language.

The Unaccusativity Hypothesis was introduced by Perlmutter (1978) in the context of the Universal Alignment Hypothesis, which suggests that the syntactic expression of arguments is always determinable on the basis of the meaning of the verb: there exist principles of Universal Grammar which predict the initial relation borne by each nominal in a given clause from the meaning of the clause. (Perlmutter & Postal 1984:97).

Since Perlmutter (1978) put forth his Unaccusative Hypothesis, there have been a large number of studies on the unaccusative phenomenon in various languages, particularly on the means of distinguishing the two classes of intransitive verbs and on identifying whether it is syntax or semantics that plays the major part in the behavior of unaccusative verbs.

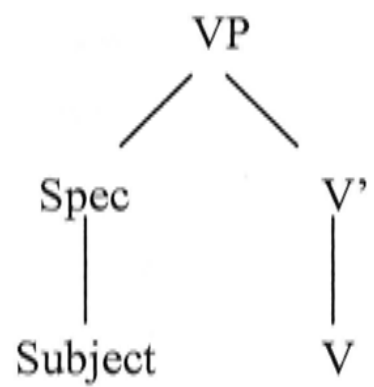
1.4.2.2. Unaccusatives and Unergatives

Since the introduction of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, linguists have considered a wide range of aspects, both syntactic and semantic, concerning the differences between unergative and unaccusative (or ergative)⁹ verbs.

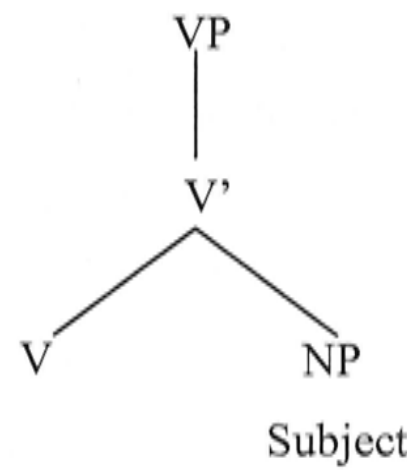
⁹ In some frameworks the term 'ergative' is used instead of 'unaccusative'.

As mentioned above, each subclass of intransitive verbs is associated with a different underlying syntactic configuration. In Romanian, this distinction can be exemplified as follows:

- (6) unergative *Maria telefonează.*
 ‘Maria telephones.’



- (7) unaccusative *Maria sosește.*
 ‘Maria arrives.’



From a generative perspective, for unergative verbs like *a telefona* ‘to telephone’, the thematic (i.e. underlying) position of the subject is [Spec, IP]. For unaccusative verbs like *a sosi* ‘to arrive’, the thematic, i.e. underlying, position of the subject is the complement position of VP, [NP, V’]. Such verbs lack an external argument and, as their name implies, they also do not assign accusative case¹⁰ (see section 1.4.2.2.2. on Burzio (1986) below), so the NP may be raised up to [Spec, IP].

From a GB perspective, an unergative verb takes a D-Structure subject and no object, while an unaccusative verb takes a D-Structure object – be it clausal or a simple NP – and no subject. Thus, the members of the two classes are associated with the D-Structure syntactic configurations schematized in:

¹⁰ It should be noted that Belletti (1988) suggests that unaccusative subjects carry *partitive* case.

- (8) unergative verb: NP [vp V]
 (9) unaccusative verb: — [vp V NP/CP]

In argument structure terms (cf. Grimshaw (1990)), an unergative verb has an external argument but no direct internal argument while an unaccusative verb has a direct internal argument (one or more than one) but no external argument.

The differences between the two classes of intransitive verbs have been explained in various theoretical frameworks and the numerous approaches to unaccusativity have generally followed two distinct trends, taking into consideration either the semantic dimension of unaccusatives (e.g. Van Valin (1990), Zaenen (1995), Lieber & Baayen (1997), Sorace (2000), etc.) or their syntactic properties (e.g. Rosen (1984), Hoekstra (1984), Kayne (1993), etc.). The differences between unergatives and unaccusatives have also been studied in terms of second language acquisition (cf. Pierce (1992)). I will review in what follows three classifications of intransitive verbs which are considered to be among the most influential ones.

1.4.2.2.1. Perlmutter (1978)

Starting from the premises that the distinction between unergativity and unaccusativity is semantically motivated, Perlmutter (1978) argues that the class of **unaccusative** verbs is very large and it includes: (1) predicates expressed by adjectives in English (describing sizes, shapes, weights, colours, smells, states of mind, etc.), (2) predicates whose initial nuclear term is semantically a Patient, like *fall* (including the class of inchoatives such as *freeze*), (3) predicates of existing and happening and various inchoatives such as *result*, (4) predicates expressing non-voluntary emission of stimuli that impinge on the senses (light, noise, smell, etc.), like *shine*, *clink*, *smell*, (5) aspectual predicates, like *begin*, and (6) duratives such as *last*. On the other hand, **unergative** verbs seem to correspond closely to the traditional notion of active or activity (intransitive) clauses within which (at least) two subcategories can be identified: (1) predicates describing willed or volitional acts, such as *think* (including manner-of-speaking verbs like *whisper* and predicates describing sounds made by animals, such as *bark*) and (2) certain involuntary bodily processes like *cough*.

Though Perlmutter's classification is mainly based on English and its cross-linguistic validity has often been questioned, the hypothesis he proposes is more

important: the single argument of some intransitive verbs is a derived subject which is the underlying direct object – functionally a theme, or experiencer, rather than an agent.

1.4.2.2.2. Burzio (1986)

Continuing the ideas expressed in the Unaccusative Hypothesis by Perlmutter (1978) and in other related works in Relational Grammar, Burzio (1986) also focuses on establishing the differences between unaccusative verbs (which he calls ‘ergative’) and unergative verbs (‘intransitive’ in his terminology). Working on Italian verbs, Burzio (1986:28) discusses the relationship between the two verbs *affondare* ‘sink’, which have different subcategorization frames: *The artillery sank the boat / The boat sank*. The difference between the two verbs lies in the ability to assign theta-role to the subject position. Thus, the verb in (10) will assign such a theta-role so that the D-structure representation will require the presence of an argument. On the other hand, the verb in (11) will not assign an external theta-role, and therefore there will be no argument in the subject position:

- (10) [L’artiglieria] affondare due navi.
 (+ θ) the artillery sink two ships.

- (11) [e] affondare due navi.
 (- θ) sink two ships.

Burzio (1986) signals the problem that if verbs assign Accusative Case to their objects as in (10) above, a DP that remains inside the VP in unaccusative constructions cannot have accusative Case. Burzio notes that unaccusative verbs lack an external (agent) theta role and links the ability of a verb to assign accusative Case to its ability to assign an external theta role. This hypothesis is known in linguistics as Burzio’s generalization and it relates the case assigning properties of the verb and the properties of the external argument:

(12) Burzio's Generalization

- i. A verb which lacks an external argument fails to assign Accusative Case. (1986:178-9)
- ii. A verb which fails to assign Accusative Case fails to theta-mark an external argument (1986:184)

Burzio's Generalization has had a great impact on linguistic research and many studies have been devoted to the empirical and theoretical basis of this generalization. However, recent research has pointed to a radical change in the view of the nature of the generalization: what actually blocks accusative Case in unaccusative constructions has nothing to do with the Case or theta assigning abilities of unaccusative verbs. Instead, the object gets nominative Case when there is no nominative subject and many studies have been devoted to the explanation of this New Descriptive Generalization (cf. Woolford 2001), in place of Burzio's 1986 generalization (e.g. Yip, Maling and Jackendoff 1987, Brandner 1993, Laka 2000, Legendre et al. 1993, Mahajan 2000, Woolford 2001).

1.4.2.2.3. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995)

More recently, another classification was offered by Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995). They have identified three large classes of intransitive verbs, two classes of unaccusatives and one class of unergative verbs, characterized in terms of their lexical semantic representation and associated argument structure, and therefore in terms of their syntactic configuration. Following the ideas expressed in Chierchia (1989), Levin & Rappaport Hovav suggest the difference between unaccusatives and unergatives lies in their basic adicity (1995:81), i.e. unaccusatives are derived from basically dyadic causative verbs, while unergatives are basically monadic. Furthermore, there is a fundamental division within the class of unaccusatives which is determined by their behavior with respect to the causative alternation, which has been claimed to be an unaccusative diagnostic (cf. Burzio 1986, Rosen 1981):

(13) Levin & Rappaport Hovav's verb classification (1995)

- 1) The **first** is the class of *unaccusative* verbs whose lexical semantic representation is basically that of a causative (dyadic) verb and whose argument structure consists of a single direct internal argument. These verbs

include many of the change of state verbs (such as *break*, *dry*, and *open*) and imply by their nature the existence of an “external cause” with immediate control over bringing about the eventuality described by the verb.

2) The **second** is also a class of *unaccusative* verbs, but they are not related to “more basic” causative verbs; they include verbs of existence (such as *exist*, *flourish*, and *thrive*) and appearance (such as *appear*, *emerge*, and *arise*) and are shown to have two internal arguments. As they do not participate in the causative alternation (*‘The darkness appeared a star in the sky’, but ‘A star appeared in the sky’), they lack an external cause in their lexical semantic representation.

3) The **third** class consists of the *unergative* verbs, a set of internally caused verbs that in term of their lexical semantic representation are basically monadic and in terms of their argument structure take a single external argument.

It should be evident, therefore, that the relation between the syntactic behavior of intransitive verbs and their meaning is more complicated than it has been initially supposed in the Unaccusative Hypothesis. Pointing out that certain aspects of verb meaning are relevant in a syntactic analysis, while other aspects of meaning are not, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue in favor of the idea that the syntactic distinction between unaccusative verbs and unergative verbs is determined semantically, as the Universal Alignment Hypothesis implied. Furthermore, they also observe that the class of unaccusative verbs is not homogeneous, as their analysis of the causative alternation proves, and that membership in an unaccusative class (i.e. 1) or 2) above) is a necessary, but insufficient condition for a verb to comply with certain unaccusative diagnostics.

1.4.2.3. Unaccusative Diagnostics

For the identification of the unaccusative phenomenon diagnostics have been set in a variety of more or less related languages.

In their semantically based analysis of unaccusativity, Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995:17-20) proposed a basic distinction between two types of unaccusativity, namely ‘deep’ and ‘surface’ unaccusativity. In languages with surface unaccusativity (such as Italian, for instance), the argument of an intransitive

verb can appear overtly in object position in surface constituent structure. In languages with deep unaccusativity (such as Dutch, for instance), that argument appears only in surface subject position. This classification entails another one at the level of unaccusative diagnostics: *deep* unaccusative diagnostics (referring to the lexical properties of the verb and its arguments) and *surface* unaccusative diagnostics (referring to surface syntactic positions). Examples of deep unaccusative diagnostics are resultative formations and causative alternations, while *there*-insertion and locative inversion are considered surface unaccusative diagnostics (but Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) regard their validity with skepticism).

Studies (such as Legendre (1989) and Shannon (1990) among others) have shown that not all unaccusative verbs uniformly pass all unaccusative diagnostics, either in the same language, or cross-linguistically. Since this situation often seems to be semantically motivated, proposals have been made arguing for a semantic basis for the distinction. Van Valin (1990) claims that all unaccusative diagnostics can receive a semantic explanation. He provides an account of the resultative construction in terms of Aktionsart – lexical aspect. This account explains in terms of Role and Reference Grammar the difference between the behaviour of unaccusative verbs and that of unergative verbs without attributing different syntactic representations to the two kinds of verbs. In more recent syntactic accounts (such as Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995), for instance), the differences in the syntactic status of the arguments are derived from semantic structure by linking rules (which affect the association of arguments bearing certain semantic roles to syntactic structures of sentences).

However, not every phenomenon that appears to make the distinction between unergative and unaccusative verbs is actually an unaccusative diagnostic in a strong sense. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) define a valid unaccusative diagnostic as one that tests for a syntactic property whose explanation is tied to the unaccusative syntactic configuration.

Probably the most frequently quoted diagnostic is auxiliary selection, which is to be found in a variety of Indo-European languages such as Dutch, German, Italian, French, and earlier English as well. In these languages, the verb selecting the auxiliary BE in the perfect is unaccusative, while the verb selecting HAVE, just like a transitive verb, is unergative. Compare the following examples from Italian:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------|
| (14) | Giacomo ha telefonato. Giacomo has telephoned G. has telephoned. | Unergative |
| (15) | Giacomo è arrivato. Giacomo is arrived G. has arrived. | Unaccusative |

Italian has a consistent auxiliary selection, in that all unaccusatives select BE. But things are not so clear in French, for instance, where the auxiliary system is only partially similar to the Italian (see the section on auxiliary selection as a diagnostic of unaccusativity for further discussion).

It is generally agreed that another criterion for diagnosing unaccusative verbs is the adjectival use of a verb's past participle. While past participles of transitive verbs can be employed as adjectives, past participles of intransitive verbs manifest a non-unitary behavior: some of them present the possibility of being used as adjectives, the others do not have the same treatment. If we assume that the single argument of an unaccusative verb is internal, we can explain why these verbs allow the adjectival use of their past participles. The past participle of unergatives, which have an external argument, cannot therefore be used as adjectives. This diagnostic seems to be valid at least for English, German (Kaufmann 1995), Dutch (Zaenen 1993), Romanian (Cornilescu 1996) and Spanish (Torrego 1989). Compare for instance the Romanian participle in (16), which is derived from an unergative verb, with the one in (17), derived from an unaccusative verb:

- | | | |
|------|---|--------------|
| (16) | *copil dormit ¹¹ child slept | unergative |
| (17) | copil adormit ¹² child asleep | unaccusative |

¹¹ *Dormit* is the past participle of the unergative verb *a dormi* 'to sleep'.

¹² *Adormit* is the past participle of the unaccusative verb *a adormi* 'to fall asleep', a prefixed compound from *a dormi* 'to sleep'.

Passivization has also been considered a universal unaccusative test. Some linguists have explained this diagnostic by the fact that no passive clause can be based on an unaccusative predicate because the verb does not assign Accusative case. Research has been carried out in this respect with reference to the impersonal passive formation in languages such as Dutch (Perlmutter 1978, Zaenen 1993), German (Kaufmann 1995), Lithuanian (Timberlake 1982) and Latin (Comrie 1977). In the same domain of voice, it seems that voice selection can be considered a diagnostic for unaccusativity in Sanskrit and Albanian, as Rosen (1984) has pointed out.

Some of the language specific diagnostics are *ne*-cliticization in Italian (Burzio 1986, Belletti & Rizzi 1981, Cinque 1990, Van Valin 1990), *-er*-nominalization in German (Kaufmann 1995), adnominal *en*-cliticization in the 'Stylistic Inversion' constructional selection (Kayne & Pollock 1978, Cinque 1990), in Russian the genitive of negation (Babby 1980, Brown 1999), or the position of the single argument of an unaccusative verb in the progressive construction in Irish (McCloskey 1996). Other diagnostics refer to existential constructions: *there*-insertion in English (L. Levin 1986, Birner & Ward 1993) and the impersonal *il*-construction in French (Legendre 1990, Cinque 1990).

It has also been claimed that the causative alternation is an unaccusative diagnostic precisely because the sharing of a semantic role by the subject of the intransitive variant and the object of the transitive variant can be explained if the verb in the intransitive variant is unaccusative, so that its subject is a D-Structure object. Levin & Rappaport Hovav (1995) argue that a causative lexical semantic analysis is valid for a large class of unaccusative verbs, but not for all of them. They show that in English and other languages such as Italian and Russian verbs of existence and appearance, though cited as bona fide unaccusative verbs, are like unergatives in generally lacking causative uses. They also study the English resultative formation (e.g. *The general marched the soldiers to the tents*) and locative inversion (e.g. *Into the room came a man*), whose diagnostic status is proved to be not convincing.

1.4.2.4. Auxiliary Selection as a Diagnostic of Unaccusativity

As early as 1984, Rosen pointed out that auxiliary selection in the Romance languages is sensitive to the unergative/unaccusative distinction, which is quite

robust in these languages. As mentioned in the previous section, unergative verbs pattern with transitives in selecting HAVE, whereas unaccusatives choose BE. Rosen (1984) has the merit, often ignored in later studies, of having demonstrated that auxiliary selection is not entirely predictable on the basis of semantics and that the unergative / unaccusative distinction is critical in the Romance languages for auxiliary selection. After considering some tens of examples of strictly intransitive verbs which take either HAVE or BE, Rosen reaches the conclusion that neither the animacy of the argument, nor agentive or volitional meaning, nor existential or presentational meaning can lead to the formulation of a semantic criterion which would work in the prediction of the perfect auxiliary.

Working on Italian, Burzio (1986:55) proposed that the selection of the perfect auxiliary *essere* is dependent on the following condition:

(18) *Essere* selection

There is a chain between the subject position and the complement position of the verb.

And closely related to the distribution of auxiliaries, the distribution of past participial agreement is also generalized by Burzio (1986:55) as:

(19) Past Participial agreement

A past participle will agree (in gender and number) with an element holding a binding relation with its direct object.

The general idea underlying Burzio's rules is that in all the situations involving verbs requiring BE as perfect auxiliary there is a certain relation between the subject and another element, i.e. the object, and it is this relationship that plays the vital role in the sentence. In the cases which require past participial agreement it is the direct object alone which is involved in a certain type of relation.

As Burzio suggested, crucial to an understanding of the process of auxiliary selection is an appreciation of the semantic relation between the subject and the verb. However, no semantic criterion seems to predict which verbs require BE as the perfect auxiliary, but it is generally accepted that state or change of state has something to do with the BE selection.

Nevertheless, while selection of BE appears to be a reliable test for unaccusativity in Italian (as Perlmutter (1989), Rosen (1984), and Burzio (1986) have pointed out), it fails in the case of other Romance languages. In French, for instance, all intransitive verbs selecting BE are unaccusative, but not all unaccusatives¹³ select BE (cf. Legendre 1989:147). As Ruwet (1988) has put it, auxiliary selection in French (as well as in Dutch) is a sufficient, but not necessary condition for unaccusativity, as no French verb can be characterized as unaccusative solely on the basis of auxiliary selection. Legendre (1989:147) offers the following examples of two unaccusative verbs which select different perfect auxiliaries:

- (20) L'enfant *est tombé* de sa chaise.
 the child is felt from his/her chair
 'The child felt from his/her chair.'

- (21) La neige *a fondu* rapidement.
 the snow has melted quickly
 'The snow melted quickly.'

Legendre (1989:159-160) has identified the two verbs above as unaccusatives according to the following tests of unaccusativity in French: Object raising, *croire* unions, participial equi and participial absolutes, reduced relatives, and nominalizations.

The choice of the perfect auxiliary in French is therefore a clear example of the difficulties associated with the attempt to base auxiliary selection on the unergative / unaccusative distinction. But auxiliary selection was still waiting for an explanation, so research went on, paying less attention to unaccusativity. Some linguists (Vincent (1982), Van Valin (1990), Zaenen (1993), Lieber & Baayen (1997), Sorace (2000), among others) have tried to prove that verbs selecting different auxiliaries can be differentiated on semantic grounds, and endeavored to find the semantic principles on which auxiliary selection is built (see the next subchapter for further discussion). On the other hand, other linguists, taking Rosen's way of reasoning further, tried to find syntactic explanations for auxiliary selection

¹³ They are considered unaccusatives on the basis of other unaccusative tests. See Legendre (1989) for a detailed discussion.

(Hoekstra (1984), Kayne (1993), Den Dikken (1994), etc.). They all point out that verbs selecting a particular auxiliary have in common a particular syntactic configuration.

However, the rich literature on the topic, both the semantic and the syntactic studies, has repeatedly shown that there is no auxiliary selection rule with respect to which particular class of intransitive verbs choose BE as their perfect auxiliary.

1.4.2.5. Beyond unaccusativity

As time has gone by, linguists have become more and more aware that the relationship between lexical auxiliary selection and unaccusativity is not exactly the smoothest one. Thus more recent research in this area of linguistics has followed two trends: either an inclination towards looking at other unaccusative diagnostics with a less problematic cross-linguistic validity, or a tendency towards looking at lexical auxiliary selection *per se*. Studies on unaccusativity have revealed auxiliary selection as a problematic issue which has been only sketched in descriptive grammar and which was still waiting for a proper explanation. Thus, linguists took over the task of solving the problem in the most accurate way and started dissecting the matter as meticulously as possible. The next section reviews some of the most important works in this respect, paying special attention to the nature of the explanations, i.e. whether lexical auxiliary selection is studied in semantic or syntactic terms.

1.4.3. More Recent Approaches to Auxiliary Selection

Since the formulation of the Unaccusative Hypothesis, lexical auxiliary selection has been widely considered as one of the most trustworthy markers of the unergative/unaccusative distinction. However, studies have shown the contrary and auxiliary selection has come to be considered a phenomenon in itself, with manifestations that ought to be analyzed independently. Thus, research on this language aspect has followed two directions: one concentrating on verbal semantics and one dealing with the syntactical dimensions of auxiliary selection.

1.4.3.1. Lexical/semantic approaches

Studies following the first trend focus on the semantic properties of the main verb, which, they argue, determine the choice of the perfect auxiliary. There are many studies in this respect, due to the large number of semantic verb classifications.

A complete inventory would fall outside the scope of this thesis and I have only chosen to review four of the most important articles. Van Valin (1990) and Zaenen (1993) still follow an unaccusative/unergative framework, while Lieber & Baayen (1997) and Sorace (2000) are pure semantic approaches.

1.4.3.1.1. Van Valin (1990)

What Van Valin argues for in this paper is that the phenomena signaled by the Unaccusative Hypothesis are better explained semantically in a Role and Reference Grammar (RRG) framework. With examples from Italian, Georgian and Acehnese, Van Valin supports the idea that there are two semantic parameters, namely inherent lexical aspect (Aktionsart) and agentiveness, which underlie split intransitivity crosslinguistically.

In the section discussing split intransitivity in Italian, Van Valin focuses on the distribution of the clitic *ne* and on auxiliary selection. The study of the latter starts from the theory of verb semantics and lexical representation of Dowty (1979), which, in turn, is built upon Vendler's (1967) classification of verbs into states, achievements, activities and accomplishments. In the same spirit, Van Valin points out that auxiliary selection in Italian depends on the Aktionsart (aspectual properties) of the intransitive verbs. Thus, intransitive verbs which are Activity (e.g. *ballare* 'dance') take HAVE as perfect auxiliary, whereas intransitive verbs which are State (e.g. *stare* 'stay'), Achievement (e.g. *morire* 'die'), or Accomplishment (e.g. *andare* 'go') take BE. This is the RRG characterization of the unergative/unaccusative distinction, which is defined in terms of Aktionsart rather than thematic relations or underlying structures. On the basis of this characterization Van Valin suggests that all unaccusative verbs have a state predicate in their Logical Structure (LS) and consequently formulates the following rules for auxiliary selection in Italian:

(22) Auxiliary selection with intransitive verbs

Select *essere* if the LS of the verb contains a state predicate (1990:233).

Select *avere* if the subject is an unmarked¹⁴ actor (with respect to the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy)¹⁵ (1990:256).

¹⁴ 'Unmarked' points to the fact that the actor is the highest-ranking argument in terms of the Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy (see the next footnote).

This auxiliary selection rule is closely related to that of *ne*-cliticization, which states that *ne* realizes the lowest-ranking argument on the Actor-Undergoer hierarchy in the state predicate in the LS of the predicate in the clause (1990:233).

1.4.3.1.2. Zaenen (1993)

In her account on unaccusativity in Dutch, Zaenen (1993) argues that the mapping between syntax and semantics is generally transparent, in spite of the existence of two classes of unaccusative verbs in Dutch that she identifies on the basis of her semantic analyses of auxiliary selection and impersonal passive formation. The fundamental idea underlying her study is that the distinction between unaccusative and unergative verbs is determined by the lexical properties of the verbs alone.

Showing that the ability to form impersonal passives is not the right test for unaccusativity in Dutch,¹⁵ Zaenen (1993) points out that auxiliary selection divides the group of intransitive verbs into two lexical classes. This division depends on the aspectual distinction between telic and atelic eventualities, on the one hand, and on whether eventualities can be controllable or not, on the other hand. In terms of telicity or boundedness, monadic verbs which are telic (e.g. *aankomen* ‘arrive’) select BE, while monadic verbs which are atelic (e.g. *werken* ‘work’) select HAVE. In terms of control, a verb like *telefoneren* ‘phone’ belongs to the class of verbs referring to an activity or state which is controllable, *aankomen* ‘arrive’ represents a telic predicate which is controllable, whereas *stinken* ‘stink’ and *sterven* ‘die’ are examples of noncontrollable predicates.

Zaenen also studies the alternations that appear in Dutch auxiliary selection, particularly how the addition of an argument leads to a change in auxiliary, as in the following set of examples (1993:136):

(23) Hij heft /*is gelopen

He has/is run.

(24) Hij is /*heeft naar huis gelopen.

He is /has run home.

¹⁵ Actor and Undergoer are the two primary arguments of a transitive verb and Van Valin points out that either one of them may be the single argument of an intransitive verb (1990:226).

¹⁶ Zaenen notes that the verbal class that allows for an impersonal passive “cannot be characterized lexically because sentence aspect has to be taken into account” (1993:142).

The instances in which these alternations appear are when activities are turned into telic eventualities by getting an argument that limits them (e.g. an argument expressing an endpoint of the motion, as in the examples above) (cf. Zaenen 1993:136-7).

1.4.3.1.3. Lieber & Baayen (1997)

In a lexical-semantic analysis of auxiliary selection in Dutch, Lieber & Baayen (1997) argued that the Lexical Conceptual Structure¹⁷ of verbs that take BE contains a new semantic primitive [IEPS], which stands for ‘inferable eventual position or state’ that characterizes whether the action denoted by the verb allows us to determine the eventual position or state of the verb’s highest argument. This approach has been criticized in Hoekstra (1999) (see section 1.4.3.2.2. below).

Lieber & Baayen consider that for any given [+IEPS] verb we are able to picture two points of time T1 and T2, and that at the end of T2 we are able to infer something about the position or state of the highest argument: e.g. for the verb *come*, a position closer to a point of reference; for *grow*, a state larger than the original; and so on.¹⁸ Besides, at any point Tn between T1 and T2 some progression will have taken place towards that eventual position or state (1997:796). The members of this class of verbs [+IEPS] have often been referred to as resultatives, i.e. verbs which express causative changes of state.

On the basis of the above definition, Lieber & Baayen identify three classes of verbs for which the [IEPS] feature is relevant. The first class includes verbs like ‘come’, ‘rise’, ‘flee’, and ‘immigrate’, which are intrinsically [+IEPS] verbs. This class also includes inchoative verbs such as ‘grow’ (implying an eventual state of being larger) or ‘crack’ (implying the eventual state of existence of the crack). The second class includes intrinsically [-IEPS] verbs, i.e. verbs with a causative element of meaning. The third class consists of activity verbs like ‘walk’ and ‘dance’, which are intrinsically unmarked for the feature [IEPS]. Although working on Dutch only, Lieber & Baayen expect this feature of lexical semantics to be of universal relevance.

¹⁷ in the sense of Jackendoff (1990).

¹⁸ This class of verbs is sometimes referred to as ‘mutative’.

1.4.3.1.4. Sorace (2000)

One of the most interesting semantic approaches to auxiliary selection is that of Sorace (2000), who argues that there is orderly variation in the choice of perfect auxiliary with intransitive verbs, i.e. auxiliary selection is sensitive to a hierarchy of aspectual/thematic verb types as follows:

(25) Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Change of location (e.g. 'come') | selects BE (least variation) |
| Change of state (e.g. 'become') | |
| Continuation of a pre-existing state (e.g. 'stay') | |
| Existence of state (e.g. 'be') | |
| Uncontrolled process (e.g. 'tremble') | |
| Controlled process (motional) (e.g. 'swim') | |
| Controlled process (nonmotional) (e.g. 'talk') | selects HAVE (least variation) |

The first class of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary are change of location verbs such as 'come', 'arrive', and 'go', which involve a concrete displacement from one point in space to another. They have the highest degree of dynamicity and telicity.

The next class is represented by change of state verbs, which Sorace defines as monadic verbs denoting a change of state other than a telic change of location (verbs that encode telicity to variable degrees). Many of them are anticausative, i.e. dyadic verbs with a transitive alternant. The verbs belonging to this group are in most cases 'indefinite change' verbs, such as verbs of directed motion ('rise', 'descend') and internally caused verbs of change of state ('become', 'wilt', 'bloom', 'decay'), which express a change in a particular direction without specifying a telic endpoint. Significant exceptions are the verbs 'die' and 'be born', which are inherently telic verbs of change of state. The class of change of state verbs also includes verbs of appearance ('appear', 'disappear'), and verbs of happening ('happen', 'occur'). Compared to verbs of change of location, verbs of change of state exhibit more variation both within individual languages and across languages.

The next two classes along the hierarchy are commonly put together in the single class of statives. They are nondynamic, but are stative to different degrees.

Stative verbs occupy the most variable position on the hierarchy. Continuation of a pre-existing state verbs ('stay', 'remain', 'last', 'survive'), although less dynamic than the previous ones, still have an implicit change component in their semantics. They entail the negation of change, in that remaining implies 'not leaving'. They imply an inferable state, which is however not the final stage of the event, but rather the implicit point of departure of the action whose continuation is described.

The last class of verbs which can select BE as perfect auxiliary are existence of state verbs, which imply no change component at all, include verbs referring to concrete states ('be', 'exist', 'belong'), positional verbs in their 'simple position' meaning ('sit', 'lie'), and verbs denoting abstract or psychological states ('seem', 'suffice', 'please'). These verbs are neither externally, nor internally caused: the notion of causation is simply irrelevant.

Working on four Western European languages,¹⁹ Sorace (2000) proposes the idea of gradience, which she defines as "a reflection of distinctions among intransitive verbs in terms of their aspectual and thematic structure" (2000:886), and which helped her establish the above hierarchy of verbs according to their preference in auxiliary selection. The extremes of the hierarchy are represented by distinct 'core' verbs which consistently choose one or the other auxiliary. Verbs denoting transitions and states, which normally select BE, are placed at the top of the hierarchy, with verbs of telic change of location the most likely to select this auxiliary. Verbs expressing processes, consistently selecting HAVE, are placed at the bottom, with verbs of controlled, unaffected, nonmotional processes the most likely to select HAVE crosslinguistically. The categories closer to the center of the hierarchy vary across languages in respect to the choice of the auxiliary because, Sorace argues, they are compatible with more than one structural configuration and thus can be associated with a wider range of interpretations.

I will use Sorace's Hierarchy of Auxiliary Selection in the classification of verbs selection BE as perfect auxiliary in the synchronic analysis of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages in Chapter 2 of this thesis.

¹⁹ Sorace has chosen Italian and French from the Romance family and German and Dutch from the Germanic languages.

1.4.3.2. Syntactic approaches

The studies on lexical auxiliary selection reviewed so far, which reject unaccusativity as the sole explanation for auxiliary selection, were focusing on the semantic properties of the main verb. There is another category of works on this topic which deal with the syntactic properties of the auxiliaries. I will label this second category ‘syntactic’ to underline the fact that syntactic aspects are prevailing over semantics in explaining how auxiliary selection works. On this approach, linguists believe that the verbs selecting the same auxiliary have in common a particular syntactic configuration, without denying the existence of certain classifications according to verbal meaning.

Following the idea expressed in Benveniste (1966) that HAVE and BE have both common and individual properties, recent syntactic approaches focus on the analysis of one auxiliary by means of the other. Thus, Kayne (1993) believes that HAVE is to be understood as a form of BE into which an abstract prepositional element has been incorporated. Hoekstra (1994), on the other hand, suggests that BE should be regarded as HAVE-minus, i.e. lacking O-Agr projection to license objective case.

1.4.3.2.1. Kayne (1993)

Kayne’s theory of auxiliary selection is highly modular, in a sense like that of Chomsky’s (1970) decompositional approach to the passive construction, and it is built up on the traditional unergative/unaccusative distinction.

As the author states in the introduction, Kayne’s theory of auxiliary selection is inspired from Benveniste’s article (1966) and in particular from his idea that the auxiliary HAVE and the main verb (i.e. ‘possessive’) HAVE should be analyzed in a similar way. Kayne assumes that the basic structure common to possessive HAVE and auxiliary HAVE in the Romance languages is the spell-out of a copula BE plus an abstract preposition (labeled D/P).

Comparing the Hungarian movement-to-Spec strategy with the English possessive constructions in which case-licensing of the possessor DP is achieved by the movement of that DP to a higher Case-licensed position, Kayne analyzes the English possessive structure as involving movement of the possessor DP to Spec (the spec of the larger DP which contains the possessive DP) and then to Spec of the copula, the result of the final incorporation being that BE is spelled out as HAVE.

Working primarily on Romance languages, Kayne reaches the conclusion that there is no auxiliary selection rule per se, i.e. the notion of selection plays no role and verbs do not select for a specific auxiliary, and that HAVE is not a distinct auxiliary, but rather a form of BE into which an abstract prepositional element has been incorporated (in accordance with the ideas expressed in Freeze 1992). This incorporation is to be understood largely in terms of properties of the participial clause complement (i.e. the past participle) which is embedded under BE: whenever the external argument of the verb raises to the subject position of BE²⁰, a Determiner element is incorporated and BE will be spelled out as HAVE.

To support his theory, Kayne tests it against some examples from Romance, Italian in particular. First, he discusses the uses of HAVE with unaccusatives (in Spanish and English) and with Italian transitives, which always take HAVE. In this case, the underlying object moves up to [Spec, AgrS] through [Spec, AgrO], because of the accusative case requirement for the object. From [Spec, AgrS], the subject then moves to [Spec, D/P] which, according to Kayne's proposal, must become assimilated to an A-position in order for the subject to be raised to [Spec, BE]. The assimilation is allowed if D/P incorporates into BE. Incorporation of D/P into BE is spelt out as HAVE. Kayne also observes the uses of BE with Italian unergatives, transitives and reflexives. He notes that in certain Italian dialects auxiliary selection is sensitive to the person of the subject and he explains this sensitivity by AgrS: when the third person tends to prefer HAVE, AgrS has strong features in these dialects when BE is selected. In order for BE to be selected, AgrS has to be activated through the passing of DP through [Spec, AgrS]. Now AgrS can raise to D/P and covert [Spec, DP] into a position compatible with an A-position. The subject DP can move through [Spec, DP] up to [Spec, BE], but D/P is not required to incorporate into BE, therefore the selection of BE.

Kayne's conclusions suggest that the choice between HAVE and BE is largely determined by the participial clause that is their complement, i.e. whether it is a full clause, with tense and agreement, or a reduced clause with nothing higher than AGRO⁰.

²⁰ Kayne suggests that in Italian participial AGR-S is inert and that subjects of transitive and unergative verbs

1.4.3.2.2. Hoekstra (1994, 1999)

Hoekstra (1994) takes Kayne's analysis further and focuses on whether and how the possessed object receives case in HAVE-type constructions. His analysis argues against Kayne's idea of HAVE as BE-plus, i.e. BE with some element from its complement incorporated. Instead, Hoekstra suggests that BE should be regarded as HAVE-minus, i.e. in the case of BE an O-Agr projection to license objective case is unavailable, whereas it is available in the case of HAVE. Some languages nevertheless allow BE in the expression of possessive sentences because they have an additional case-licensing element, like the determiner in Hungarian described by Kayne.

In the same line of arguments Hoekstra (1994) suggests that the main verb HAVE and the auxiliary HAVE may be regarded as one and the same element. The difference between them lies in the fact that the possessive meaning of the former arises as a result of HAVE dominating an empty predicate labeled X, which assigns the thematic role of possessor to its subject.

Hoekstra (1999) is a reply to Lieber & Baayen's analysis (1997) of auxiliary selection in Dutch in terms of mutativity. Hoekstra argues in favor of a syntactic approach to auxiliary selection correlated with the notion of unaccusativity. As stated in his 1984 work, Hoekstra supports the general idea that the distinction between unergatives and transitives on the one hand and unaccusatives on the other does not pertain to internal arguments, but rather to the presence or absence of an external argument. Lieber & Baayen have rejected an unaccusative approach to auxiliary selection because in their view unaccusativity is limited to one-argument verbs, and therefore it cannot account for the selection of BE by a class of apparently transitive verbs. Hoekstra argues that Lieber & Baayen fail to consider the properties associated with auxiliary selection and that their feature [+IEPS] does not capture the right class of verbs (Lieber & Baayen include in their analysis of few 'transitive' verbs which select BE, but Hoekstra doubts their classification as transitives). They have also concentrated on the wrong level of representations, i.e. syntax instead of Lexical Conceptual Structure. Moreover, Hoekstra believes that any approach to auxiliary selection should look for a grammatical mechanism to account for the distribution of auxiliaries, and Lieber & Baayen have failed to find it.

1.4.3.3. Other approaches

This section reviews some of the approaches which include a historical perspective on lexical auxiliary selection. Two of them, Vincent (1982) and Tuttle (1986), attempt to describe the emergence and development of the two perfect auxiliaries in the Romance languages. The last one, Aranovich (2000), is a corpus-based study of auxiliary selection in Old Spanish, following the ideas expressed in Benzing (1931). A more detailed discussion of Tuttle (1986) is included in Chapter 4, dealing with the emergence of BE as perfect auxiliary in Romance.

1.4.3.3.1. Vincent (1982)

After the formulation of the Unaccusative Hypothesis and the studies on auxiliary selection based on the unergative/unaccusative distinction, Vincent (1982) was one of the first to tackle the problem in a different framework, namely Case Grammar. His approach is quite different from those of his predecessors in his attempts to explain the development of the auxiliaries HAVE and BE in the Romance languages in terms of the relationships between these verbs and the past participle.

The central element in Vincent's theory is Neutral, which he defines as the case of the argument which is semantically inert, and which thus takes its interpretation from the meaning of the verb rather than from any independently definable case function such as Agentivity, Location, etc. (cf. Vincent 1982:76). Therefore, a transitive verb like *hit* takes an Agent and a Neutral, with an optional Instrumental, as in the following example (cf. Vincent 1982:75):

- (26) The carpenter hit the nail (with a hammer).

Agent Neutral Instrument

Habere, Vincent argues, is lexically specified to require two arguments, a Locative as subject and a Neutral as object, as in the following example expressing simple possession, the subject indicating "the location of the wealth" (1982:79):

- (27) *tantas divitias habet* (Plautus)

great riches he-has

Neutral Locative

The object of *habere* can be modified by adjectives, past participles, and prepositional phrases, and Vincent points out that these forms can also occur in a simple predication sentence, after the subject and the verb *esse*. Such a situation is explained by the fact that *esse* takes Neutral as subject. The assignment of such a case to the subject is explained by the fact that the subject is “semantically inert” (1982:81). For instance, in the following example a property is predicated of the Belgians (1982:80):

- (28) horum omnium fortissimi sunt Belgae (Caesar)
 of these all most brave are the Belgians
 ‘The Belgians are the most brave of all these.’ (my translation)

The fact that *esse* takes Neutral case in subject position explains its use as a passive auxiliary (in a passive structure the original object assumes Neutral case and is promoted to subject position). Moreover, *esse* mediates the relationship between the subject and the perfect participle, and thus the participle co-occurs with the Neutral case.

Vincent explains the uses of HAVE and BE as auxiliaries in Romance by the property of the participle to modify the Neutral. Thus, HAVE no longer selects its own Locative, but fills that position by “promotion of the unexpressed Agent of the verb to which it is attached by the Neutral ‘hinge’” (1982:84). On the other hand, the uses of *esse* as an auxiliary in passive constructions and with deponent²¹ verbs in Latin seem to have favored the development of BE as perfect auxiliary in Romance, but no detailed analysis is provided.

The great merit of Vincent’s article lies in the fact that it is one of the first to raise the problem of diachrony in explaining the origin and development of the auxiliaries HAVE and BE in the Romance languages.

1.4.3.3.2. Tuttle (1986)

Tuttle offers a study of the perfect auxiliary *esse* in the Central Italian dialects, which are well-known for their diversity in respect to auxiliary selection (see also the section on Italian in Chapter 2). The historical approach allows Tuttle to

²¹ Verbs with passive form and active meaning. See Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of deponent verbs in general and Latin deponents in particular.

argue in favor of the idea that it is the Latin medio-passive/deponent verb class that determined the unusual expansion of BE as a perfect auxiliary with all verb classes in Central Italy.

His analysis begins by pointing out the lack of a vigorous examination of the evolution of the compound past tenses in the Romance languages until the 1970's. The article begins with a review of the literature on this topic, paying particular attention to the studies devoted to the various dialects of Italy.

Before concentrating on the geographical and structural distribution of the perfect auxiliary BE in the Italian dialects, Tuttle retraces the historical development of the HAVE + past participle paraphrase from Latin to Romance. His study follows that of Vincent's (1982). However, in discussing the emergence of HAVE as perfect auxiliary in Romance, Tuttle brings into discussion the problem of aspect. He shows that there is an obvious relation between the binary opposition *infectum* – *perfectum* in Latin (coming from the threefold aspectual system in Indo-European) and the rise of the present perfect paradigm in the Romance languages.

In talking about the development of BE + past participle construction, Tuttle addresses the question of voice, particularly the expression of the Indo-European middle voice in Latin through the class of deponent verbs, and, further on, the relationship between deponent verbs and reflexive pronouns. Tuttle argues that all the Latin (and then Romance) heirs to the Indo-European middle voice retained a periphrastic past tense constructed with BE. The development of this construction was influenced by the extension of the auxiliary HAVE, which led to overlapping and alternation and eventually regular selection of one or the other auxiliary. In most cases HAVE came to be used as the universal auxiliary, gradually replacing BE in reflexives of interest, reflexivized intransitives, intransitives used transitively, and finally verbs of state and motion (1986:265).

Tuttle argues that Standard Italian has stopped this development half-way, but different dialects have experienced different endpoints. The most remarkable part of this study is the description of auxiliary selection in the modern Italian dialects, with special attention to person variation (generally BE with the first and second persons and HAVE with the third) and past participial agreement. Tuttle claims that the occurrence of BE in the first and second persons might depend on a tendency for animate persons to express empathy (1986:278). Tuttle tries to explain the predominance and “peculiar efflorescence” of BE as perfect auxiliary in Central

Italian dialects as a result of the unique development of the HAVE construction among the middle-voice descendants. He claims that the spread of BE in these dialects originated from reflexives and from the correspondence between the Dative of interest construction (expressed by means of a reflexive pronoun) and its transitive counterpart, cf. *me lo sono mangiato* ‘I have eaten it for me’ vs. *l’ho mangiato* ‘I have eaten it’ (cf. 1986:277).

1.4.3.3.3. Aranovich (2003)

This is a study of lexical auxiliary selection in Old Spanish. Supporting the semantic approach to split intransitivity defended in Zaenen (1993), Van Valin (1990), Centineo (1986, 1996), and Lieber and Baayen (1997), Aranovich argues in his paper that auxiliary selection in the history of Spanish is sensitive to the lexical semantics of the predicate. The central idea of his study is that the diachronic displacement of *ser* ‘be’ by *haber* ‘have’ as the perfect auxiliary in Spanish proceeds along very clear lexical-semantic lines, with the more agentive predicates losing their ability to select *ser* earlier than the less agentive ones.

Aranovich found his inspiration in Benzing (1931), one of the most comprehensive works on auxiliary selection in Old Spanish which records the ability of a large number of verbs to select *ser*, until their latest recorded occurrence. Aranovich (2003) takes Benzing’s findings further and builds up a semantic classification of this group of verbs. Based on Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), Aranovich classifies these verbs in (1) verbs of existence and appearance (like *cuntir* ‘happen’, *transir* ‘go by’, *acaecer* ‘happen’, *aparecer* ‘appear’, *desaparecer* ‘disappear’, and *acabar* ‘finish’), (2) verbs of manner of motion, like *errar* ‘wander’, *correr* ‘run’, and *caminar* ‘walk’, (3) verbs of directed motion (like *pasar*, *ir* ‘go’, and *partir* ‘leave’), and (4) verbs of change of state, like *nacer* ‘be born’, *crecer* ‘grow’, and *morir* ‘die’. Of these, stative verbs like *quedar* ‘remain’, *fincar* ‘stay’, *rastar* ‘remain’, and *holgar* ‘rest’ (included by Aranovich in the first class), which do not suffer any change in state or location, therefore are not affected in any way by the event, were the first to lose their ability to select *ser* (in the 13th and 14th centuries), while verbs of directed motion and verbs of change of state, which suffer a change in their location or state as a consequence of the event and whose subject is, consequently, affected, continue to select *ser* up to the 17th century.

The conclusion that Aranovich reaches from this analysis is that, besides agentivity, the degree of ‘affectedness’ of the subject is a factor in the displacement of *ser* by *haber* as the perfect auxiliary, i.e. the more affected the subject, the sooner a verb loses its ability to select *ser*. For a further discussion of this study, see Chapter 3, section 3.2.

This chapter has shown that at different times linguists offered different analyses of lexical auxiliary selection ranging from pure descriptive accounts, such as those from the 19th and early 20th centuries, to detailed investigations in particular frameworks, the most frequently used being unaccusativity. The next chapter will present a synchronic examination of the process of lexical auxiliary selection in all standard modern Romance languages in which it appears.

Chapter 2

Auxiliary Selection in the Romance Languages.

A Synchronic Overview

This chapter will take a close look at the different manifestations of auxiliary selection in the family of Romance languages, including those less studied such as Catalan and Occitan. A section of this chapter will investigate the validity of the claim that lexical auxiliary selection is also present in Romanian.

The aim of this chapter is to offer an overall account of the present state of auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages, leaving aside the sometimes inaccessible theoretical frameworks which have been used in describing this topic. This chapter will put together both well-known and well-studied Romance languages such as French and Italian and less-known languages such as Catalan, Occitan, and the Rhaeto-Romance languages, or languages which have been described in a less accessible framework, such as Sardinian.

It must be noted that many works on lexical auxiliary selection, from the first studies in the 19th and early 20th centuries to the latest approaches to the topic, generally take into account only the Compound Past, even if the selection of the perfect auxiliary is found in other tenses and moods, such as the Pluperfect, the Future Perfect, the Perfect and Pluperfect Subjunctive and Perfect Conditional (see Table 1.1. in Chapter 1). A possible explanation for this tendency is the fact that a verb selecting BE in the Compound Past normally selects BE as perfect auxiliary in all the other compound tenses. As considering all moods and tenses where auxiliary selection appears in the Romance languages would be beyond the inherent limits of a thesis, I shall follow the general tradition of considering the Compound Past tense as the representative of auxiliary selection. Wherever it is relevant and data is available, I shall also discuss the case of other compound tenses, such as the Pluperfect.

The structure of the chapter is as follows. The first section is intended as a general description of the Romance Compound Past tense, with special attention paid to its meanings and usages and to its different manifestations in terms of perfect auxiliaries in the Romance languages. The next section will include discussions on

lexical auxiliary selection in seven Romance languages: French, Catalan, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romance, and Romanian. The conclusion will summarize the general features of auxiliary selection as manifested in the Romance languages.

2.1. The Romance Compound Past

2.1.1. What is the Compound Past?

All Romance languages make some use of a compound past tense which is made up of the present tense form of an **auxiliary verb**, generally HAVE, and an originally **passive participial form**. The participle expresses the notion of perfect, while the auxiliary offers grammatical information about person, number, tense and mood. The table below shows the paradigm of the verb ‘to do’ in the Compound Past tense in several Romance languages:

Table 2.1
The verb ‘to do’ in the Compound Past tense

| | |
|------------|--|
| Spanish | <i>yo he hecho, tú has hecho, él ha hecho</i> <i>nosotros hemos hecho, vosotros habéis hecho, ellos han hecho</i> |
| Portuguese | <i>eu tenho feito, tu tens feito, ele tem feito</i> <i>nós temos feito, eles têm feit</i> |
| Catalan | <i>jo he fet, tu has fet, ell ha fet</i> <i>nos hem fet, vos heu fet, ells han fet</i> |
| French | <i>j’ai fait, tu as fait, il a fait</i> <i>nous avons fait, vous avez fait, ils ont fait</i> |
| Occitan | <i>ieu ai fach, tu as fach, el a fach</i> <i>nosautres avèm fach, vosautres avètz fach, eles an fach</i> |
| Italian | <i>io ho fatto, tu hai fatto, lui ha fatto</i> <i>noi abbiamo fatto, voi avete fatto, loro hanno fatto</i> |
| Romanian | <i>eu am făcut, tu ai făcut, el a făcut</i> <i>noi am făcut, voi ați făcut, ei au făcut</i> |

Generally, the auxiliary HAVE used in the Compound Past tense has the same forms as the lexical verb ‘have’ in the present tense. This is generally true for most Romance languages. Romanian is one of the exceptions, with a difference in the third person singular and the first and second persons plural. Compare: *el/ea are* ‘he/she has’ vs. *el/ea a cântat* ‘he/she has sung’, *noi avem* ‘we have’ vs. *noi am cântat* ‘we have sung’, *voi aveți* ‘you have’ vs. *voi ați cântat* ‘you have sung’.

This tense has been considered similar to the English present perfect, also made up of the auxiliary HAVE and the past participle, but the Romance tense cannot simply be equated with a ‘present perfect’ one because it may be used not only with actions or states situated within a period of time which includes the present moment or seen as still relevant to the present moment, but also with actions that happened within a period of time which is wholly past, depending on the language/dialect (see the following sections for the meanings of the Romance Compound Past). The different names of this tense in the Romance languages point to the fact that it is a compound past tense, usually opposed to the simple past tense, which also appears in all Romance languages: Spanish ‘Perfecto Compuesto’, Portuguese ‘Pretérito Composto’, French ‘Parfait Composé’, Catalan ‘Pretèrit Perfet Compost’, Romanian ‘Perfect Compus’. For the sake of terminology, I shall use in my thesis the name ‘Compound Past’ to refer to all these Romance compound tenses.

Similar periphrastic constructions are to be found, though less thoroughly documented, in many other languages, such as, for instance, the Germanic and the Celtic families among the Indo-European family.

It has been mentioned above that the auxiliary generally used in the Romance Compound Past is HAVE. However, several Romance languages make use of the auxiliary BE for a special class of intransitive verbs and for reflexive verbs. Though the two auxiliaries are attested in earlier stages of several Romance languages, the use of BE as perfect auxiliary has declined in entire ROMANIA over the centuries. Today, Spanish uses only HAVE, in Catalan BE occurs only in dialectal contexts, whereas in French, BE is used with approximately 40 verbs. Italian presents the strongest case of auxiliary selection, with nearly 300 verbs selecting BE in their compound past.

Mention should be made that reflexes of *habere* and *esse* are not the only forms used as perfect auxiliaries, although these auxiliaries mostly have the meaning of HAVE or BE in most Romance languages.

Portuguese displays a series of analytic forms which, like no other Romance relative, are made up of the auxiliary *ter* (coming from Lat. *tenere*) and the past participle: e.g. *tenho feito* ‘I have done’. While *ter* is the verb HAVE in Modern Portuguese, it is not an etymological continuant of *habere*. On the same general schema, the present, imperfect and future tense forms of *ter* serve in the formation of the perfect, pluperfect and future perfect tenses (indicative and subjunctive). Though a curiosity among Romance languages, these analytic past tenses belong to the general Hispano-Romance pattern.

Apart from the now fully grammaticalized construction with *haber* ‘have’, **Spanish** has an alternative periphrasis (attested since the earliest texts) made up of the auxiliary *tener* < Lat. *tenere* ‘to hold’ (a cognate of the Portuguese *ter*) and a past participle displaying agreement with the object. Batchelor & Poutain (1992:242) argue that this structure, which is different from the regular Compound Past, has two aspectual functions:

1. completion (only with transitive verbs; the pp agrees with the object), e.g.;

(29) Lo tengo bien pensado.
‘I’ve got it thought out.’

(30) Tengo escritas dos cartas.
‘I’ve got two letters written.’

2. repetition (with transitives and intransitives), e.g.:

(31) Ya te tengo dicho que no hagas eso.
‘I’ve told you repeatedly not to do that.’

In addition, this structure is also used with moral connotations (the so-called ‘moral’ HOLD), such as in the following example from Batchelor & Poutain (1992:242):

(32) Te tengo prohibido que digas cosas así.
‘I’ve forbidden you to say things like that.’

In **Catalan** there is a past periphrasis constructed with a special auxiliary which is partially homophonous with the present indicative of the verb *anar* ‘to go’, followed by an infinitive. This structure is interchangeable with the synthetic preterite form (according to Hualde 1992:304). The following example shows the use of the verb ‘go’ in such a construction:

- (33) Vaig anar al mercat ahir
 aux:1sg go:inf to the market yesterday
 ‘I went to the market yesterday.’

The GO + infinitive performs functions as a future in other Romance languages, e.g. French *je vais chanter* ‘I am going to sing’. In Catalan however, it is used to express a past action. This function is also found in Western Occitan and in the isolated dialect of Guardia Piemontese in Calabria, in southern Italy (cf. Posner 1996:176, but no example is provided).

In the following sections I shall discuss several issues related to the semantics and syntax of the Romance Compound Past tense involving the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE.

2.1.2. The Semantics of the Romance Compound Past

There is general agreement on the fundamental difference between the two perfect auxiliaries found in the Romance Compound Past in the languages which make use of both auxiliaries: HAVE is used when the emphasis is on the execution or performance of the activity, especially where the subject is actively or deliberately controlling the activity; whereas BE expresses the notion that what is in the foreground is a state, or change of state or change of position which the subject undergoes or is involved in.

Benveniste (1966:194) has noticed that HAVE and BE display both common and individual properties, which he presented as follows, with examples from French (for a detailed discussion of Benveniste’s ideas see section 1.4.1.4. above):

1. Both BE and HAVE have the formal status of temporal auxiliaries.
2. Neither BE nor HAVE can have passive forms.

3. BE and HAVE as temporal auxiliaries can accompany the same verbs: *il s'est blessé* 'he has hurt himself', *il m'a blessé* 'he has hurt me'.

4. Otherwise, the auxiliaries BE and HAVE are distributed complementary, i.e. all verbs have either one or the other (e.g. *il est arrivé* 'he has arrived', *il a mangé* 'he has eaten'), including BE and HAVE themselves (which take HAVE in Modern French, e.g. *il a été* 'he has been', *il a eu* 'he has had').

Benveniste (1966:198) defines BE and HAVE as state verbs, with BE pointing to the state of being (*l'état de l'étant, celui qui est quelque chose*), and HAVE indicating the state of having (*l'état de l'ayant, celui à qui quelque chose est*). As pointed out in section 1.4.1.4. above, Benveniste argues that BE establishes an intrinsic relationship of identity between the two terms it joints, while HAVE establishes an extrinsic relationship, the relationship between the possessor and the possessee, so that the two terms remain distinct.

Leaving aside the differences between the meanings that the two auxiliaries impose on the Romance Compound Past, it is important to observe the meanings of the entire structure of the Romance Compound Past as they appear from the comparison with the corresponding Simple Past. The two past tenses are to be found in virtually every Romance variety, with very marginal exceptions. In order to have a unified terminology, I shall speak in most cases of Simple Past and Compound Past.

The Simple Past is little used in some Romance languages, where the Compound Past is preferred. A historical glance over ROMANIA shows a virtual disappearance of the preterite in favor of the Compound Past: in Northern Italo-Romance by 1300, in Rhaeto-Romance and Catalan by 1400, in Sardinian by 1500, in French by 1700, and in Romanian by 1800 (according to Togeby 1980:142-3). This is most probably the result of a general tendency toward analytic forms. The Compound Past tends to replace the Simple Past in everyday use and to abolish a clear-cut distinction between tenses built up since Latin times.

The fact that the Romance Compound Past was originally used only to express actions completed in the present, compared with the Simple Past, made Comrie (1976:60) refer to it as 'perfect of the recent past'. Nevertheless, in many modern Romance varieties, except certain regional dialects, the compound form has replaced the Simple Past in colloquial speech *as part of a general drift towards analytic constructions* (Posner 1996:136), but standard literary languages still protect

the classic distinction. In Occitan and a southern variety of Romanian (Oltenian) the meaning of the synthetic form (Simple Past) is limited to events that have taken place, i.e. started and finished, on the same day as the act of speech. A similar ‘twenty-four hour’ rule applied for the seventeenth-century French. By and large colloquial speech lost the distinction between an event that took place in the past and one that was completed by the present. For example in Spanish, French and Romanian, the use of the Compound Past for recent situations is rather wide, so that Sp. *la he visto esta mañana*, Fr. *je l’ai vu ce matin*, Rom. *eu l-am văzut azi dimineață* ‘I have seen him this morning’ can be said in the afternoon. Comrie (1976:61) appreciates that gradual relaxation of the degree of remoteness allowed for the use of the Compound Past was a key part of the development of this tense in many Romance languages to oust the Simple Past completely.

As the emergence of the Romance Compound Past is based on the functions of the Latin perfect (see Chapter 4 below), studying the differences in meaning and use between the Simple Past and Compound Past in present-day Romance languages is necessary. Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:404) argue that the Compound Past started out as a true perfect, but underwent a process of gradual aoristicization (i.e. of transformation into a purely perfective past). They refer to this process, which covered a greater or lesser distance according to the individual language, as the “aoristic drift”.

Such a comparison between the distribution of the Simple Past and Compound Past led Harris (1982), which represents a well-known and influential point of reference, to posit four synchronically distinct patterns corresponding to different ways of conceiving the opposition Simple Past / Compound Past (1982:49-50). The way these patterns are listed shows their remoteness from the situation in Vulgar Latin. Each is the next stage of development of the previous one:

1. Southern Italian dialects, such as Calabrian and Sicilian:¹⁷

SIMPLE PAST - all the values it had in Vulgar Latin, i.e. both simple past and present perfect.

¹⁷ Ledgeway (2000:1) identifies the dialects of southern Italy as “the indigenous languages descended from spoken Latin as it evolved naturally and largely unaffected by formal education south of an isogloss running approximately from Rome in the West to Ancona in the East”.

COMPOUND PAST - restricted to present states resulting from past actions, and not used to describe past actions themselves, however recent;

2. Standard (Galician) Portuguese:

SIMPLE PAST - most of the values it had in Vulgar Latin, including reference to recent past events and events occurring at a period of time still in progress.

COMPOUND PAST – development of the semantic values labeled as ‘present perfect’, but only in highly specific circumstances in the beginning;

3. Standard (Castilian) Spanish and some French dialects, other than standard:

SIMPLE PAST - restricted to preterite values,

COMPOUND PAST - in addition to the values outlined above, the ‘present perfect’ value of ‘past action with present relevance’;

4. Standard French, Northern Italian, standard Romanian:

SIMPLE PAST - restricted to formal registers and may ultimately be lost entirely,

COMPOUND PAST - in addition to the ‘present perfect’ functions, the value of the preterite.

It is worth noticing that the semantic distinction between the two past tenses is neutralized in this last subgroup. The Compound Past has both the meaning of ‘present perfect’ and that of preterite, just like the perfect tense in Classical Latin.

Squartini & Bertinetto (2000) have reconsidered in greater detail the situation in several Romance languages, finally pointing out the difficulties of interpreting Harris’ four stages as diachronic steps of grammaticalization. As this chapter focuses only on the synchronic situation of the Romance languages, I shall review their analysis in terms of the synchronically relevant aspects of the differences between the Compound Past and the Simple Past.

In respect to Southern Italian dialects, such as Calabrian and Sicilian (Harris’ Stage I), Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:407) claim they are examples of a “low degree of grammaticalization”, admitting the Compound Past only for current states,

possibly connected to past situations. Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:407ff) include Sicilian in Harris' Stage II, as their data indicates that the Sicilian Compound Past does not express recent past or current relevance, but rather durative (as in the first example) or iterative situations (as in the second example):

- (34) L' amu circatu tutta matinata.
him have:1pl looked all morning
'We have been looking for him the whole morning.'

- (35) Aju manciatu tanti voti u piscispata,
have:1sg eaten many times the sword-fish

e m' ha fattu sempri beni.
and me has done always good

'I have eaten swordfish many times, and it has always done me good.'

Squartini & Bertinetto's conclusion is that the Compound Past in these varieties is not restricted to current state situations, i.e. it is not a truly resultative perfect, but can also denote past situations with current experiential relevance.

The Portuguese Compound Past (constructed with the auxiliary *ter*) – Harris' Stage II - differs semantically from the corresponding compound pasts in the other Romance languages in that it refers to a durative or iterative situation, starting in the past and continuing up to the Speech Time (cf. Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:408). This feature has often led to characterizations of the Portuguese Compound Past as an imperfective form or as a perfective form with imperfective features:

- (36) Nos últimos dias o João tem chegado tarde
in last days the John has arrived late
'In the last few days John arrived/has been arriving late.'

- (37) Ultimamente o João tem lido muitos romances
recently the John has read many novels
'Recently John has read/been reading many novels.'

Note that in Portuguese, unlike in many other Romance languages, the Compound Past cannot refer to truly past situations (cf. the following examples from Squartini & Bertinetto (2000: 409):

- (38) *Já tens estado em Austrália?
already have:2sg been in Australia
'Have you already been to Australia?'

- (39) *Não, ainda não tem voltado.
no yet no has returned
'No, s/he has not come back yet.'

Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:410) claim that the Portuguese Compound Past depends on the actional character of the situation, i.e. it selects "only durative and non-telic situations encompassing the Reference Time, while durative and telic situations are only accepted if interpreted as spanning as interval that reaches up to the Reference Time (possibly by way of iteration)". A similar situation is found in Mexican Spanish, where the Compound Past designates durative and iterative situations encompassing the Speech Time (*idem*).

Standard (Castilian) Spanish seems to represent a further stage in the aoristic drift, with the Compound Past occurring not only in inclusive contexts as in Portuguese and Mexican Spanish, but also in "typical perfectal contexts" (Squartini & Bertinetto 2000:414), such as the following:

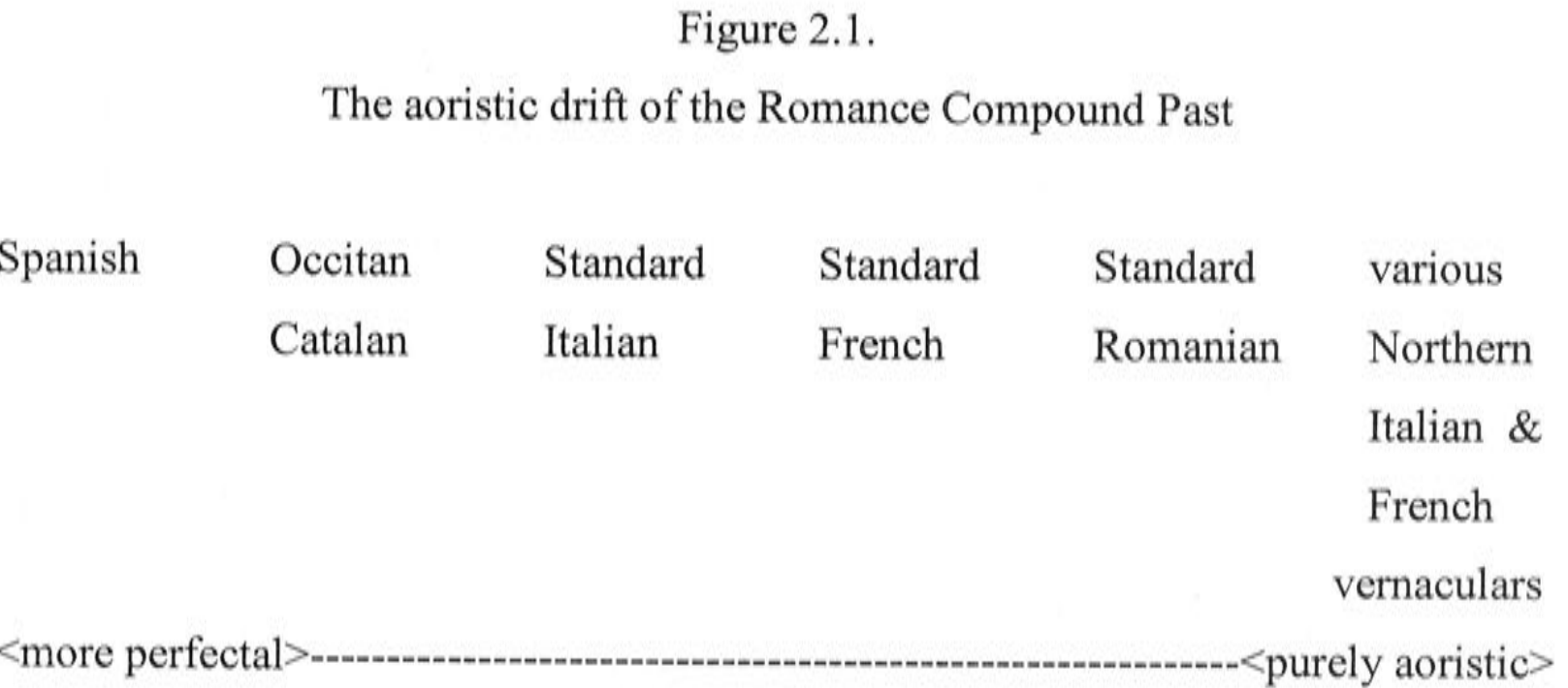
- (40) He vivido aquí toda mi vida
have:1sg lived here all my life
'I have lived here all my life.'

- (41) ¿Has estado en Australia?
have:2sg been in Australia
'Have you already been to Australia?'

- (42) No, todavía no ha llegado
no, yet not has come back
'No, s/he has not come back yet.'

The final stage of this development (Harris' Stage IV) includes Standard French, Northern Italian, Standard Romanian, Romansh, Ladin, Friulian, and Sardinian. The Simple Past is restricted to formal registers (in French it is only used in newspapers, formal style and literary texts) and it may ultimately be lost entirely (as in Northern Italian). On the other hand, the Compound Past can be used in any kind of purely perfective contexts and in some cases it is the only existing form (Northern Italian varieties, Standard Romanian and the northern varieties of Sardinian).

This survey of the different meanings of the Simple Past and Compound Past in the Romance languages has led Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:422) to the following figure showing the aoristic drift of the Romance Compound Past:



Squartini & Bertinetto (2000:421) regard Harris' stages III and IV as a single continuum, in which the various languages are disposed scalarly, from a minimum to a maximum in terms of proximity to the purely aoristic value. The extreme is represented on the right by those Romance varieties, such as various Northern Italian and French vernaculars, where the Simple Past does not even exist as a remote morphological possibility, and where the Compound Past has almost become a "general purpose perfective tense".

After this survey of the different meanings covered by the Compound Past in the different Romance languages, I shall investigate several aspects of the syntax of this tense, with special attention on the relationship between the perfect auxiliary and the past participle.

2.1.3. The Syntax of the Romance Compound Past

It is generally agreed that the Romance Compound Past tense appeared as a result of the dual function of Latin perfect forms such as *amavit*, which were used both as a **preterite** (indicating actions which took place in a period of time which is wholly past) and as a **present perfect** (expressing actions which took place, began to take place, or failed to take place in a past which is still in progress). The first function, that of preterite, was more commonly used in Classical Latin:¹⁸ it was the narrative tense *par excellence*, it was accompanied by past time adverbs and required historical concordance within the complex sequence of tense rules. This meaning survived in Romance in the form of preterites (Simple Past tenses), e.g. Fr. *chanta*, Rom. *cîntă*, It. *cantò*, etc. The latter function, that of present perfect, pointing to actions situated within a period of time which includes the present moment or seen as being still relevant at the present moment (cf. Harris (1982:43)), was more frequently used in Vulgar Latin. This function came gradually to be expressed through the grammaticalization of the periphrasis HAVE¹⁹ + past participle, e.g. Fr. *a chanté*, Rom. *a cîntat*, It. *ha cantato*, etc.

According to Posner (1996:135), this process of amalgamation achieved its most complete stage in modern Spanish, where it is very rare to find other grammatical elements between the auxiliary and the past participle.

In Sardinian, only simple aspectual adverbs (e.g. *dza* ‘already’, *semper* ‘always’, *mai* ‘never’) may occur between the auxiliary and the past participle (cf. the following example from Jones 1988a:179):

- (43) Appo semper travallatu.
 have:1sg always worked
 ‘I have always worked’.

¹⁸ Classical Latin time lasted from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD, and writers and poets which wrote in it include Cicero, Caesar, Horace, Ovid, Virgil.

¹⁹ As seen in the previous section, HAVE is not the only perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages.

In Romanian a very small class of monosyllabic adverbs expressing approximation, duration, iteration, etc. can appear within the structure of the compound perfect between the auxiliary and the participle: *mai* ‘again’, *și* ‘already’, *cam* ‘a little’, *prea* ‘too much’, and *tot* ‘still’(cf. the following examples from Daniliuc & Daniliuc 2000:161-162) :

- (44) Profesorul meu a *mai* scris o carte.
the teacher m. my m.sg has again written a f. book
‘My teacher has written another book.’
- (45) Ea a *și* luat florile de pe masă.
she has immediately taken the flowers from table
‘She immediately took the flowers from the table.’
- (46) Ele au *tot* cântat pînă la miezul nopții.
they have:3pl again and again sung until midnight
‘They kept on singing until midnight.’

In Catalan no element can intervene between the past participle and the perfect auxiliary, except a very limited number of adverbs (cf. the following example from Cortés 1993:226):

- (47) *El Jordi havia fàcilment parlat amb els nens.
El Jordi havia parlat fàcilment amb els nens.
‘Jordi had talked easily with the kids. ‘

One of the adverbs which may intervene between a form of the auxiliary *haver* and the past participle is the negative adverb *pas*, whose surface placement is regulated by dialectal variation (cf. the following examples from Cortés 1993:226):

- (48) La Neus no **ha pas** arribat. Girona
Neus not has *pas* arrived.

- (49) La Neus no **ha arribat pas**. Barcelona
 Neus not has arrived *pas*.

Note that in French, the negation *pas* always appears between the perfect auxiliary and the past participle: *je n'ai pas fait cela* 'I have not done that', *je ne suis pas mort* 'I am not dead'.

The second adverb appearing within the structure of the Catalan Compound Past is the adverb *ben*, when it means 'completely' (cf. the following example from Cortés 1993:226):

- (50) Ens has ben enredat.
 us have:2sg completely deceived
 'You have completely deceived us.'

The adverb *ben* is not free to appear between any form of the perfect auxiliary *haver* and a participle, i.e. the restriction applies to other compound moods and tenses as well (idem):

- (51) *L'has ben acabat.
 it have:2sg completely finished.

On the other hand, the structure of the French Compound Past is less fixed, as many adverbs (expressing manner, degree, aspect, or logical relation) are placed between the perfect auxiliary and the past participle (cf. Grevisse 1988:1422):

- (52) J' ai toujours apprécié vos idées.
 I have:1sg always appreciated your ideas
 'I have always appreciated your ideas.'

The Italian Compound Past follows the same pattern, but the number of adverbs whose normal position is between the perfect auxiliary and the past participle is slightly larger (cf. Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:194): *già* 'already', *ancora* 'yet', *più* 'again', *sempre* 'always', *mai* 'never', *affatto* 'at all', *forse* 'perhaps', *poi* 'finally', *ben* 'surely': *Non l'ho ancora letto* 'I have not read it yet'.

In addition, placing an adverb which usually immediately follows the compound perfect or comes at the end of the clause between the auxiliary and the past participle may change the meaning of a sentence: *ha stranamente parlato di questo argomento* corresponds to ‘strangely he talked about this subject’ (cf. Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:194).

In Sardinian, clitics must be attached to the perfect auxiliary, not to the lexical verb which they complement (cf. Jones 1988a: 174-5). Thus, only the examples (53) and (56) are correct:

(53) L’appo fattu.

(54) *Appo lu fattu.

(55) *Appo fattulu.

‘I have done it.’

(56) Bi so andatu.

(57) *So bi andatu.

(58) *So andatubi.

‘I have gone there.’

In the Rhaeto-Romance dialect of Surmeiran, the reflexive clitic may either precede or follow the perfect auxiliary (cf. the following examples from Haiman & Benincà 1992:227):

(59) Ia **ma** va tratg aint

I myself have dressed in

(60) Ia va **ma** tratg aint

I have myself dressed in

‘I have dressed.’

The first pattern is characteristic of most Rhaeto-Romance, while the second is Surselvan. While Surmeiran allows both, it seems to prefer the second pattern, with the reflexive pronoun following the auxiliary.

In Romanian, the reflexive pronoun is always proclitic to the perfect auxiliary: *eu m-am trezit* ‘I woke up’, *eu mi-am amintit* ‘I remembered’. The same treatment is applied to personal pronouns, except for the third person singular feminine, in which case the pronoun follows the entire Compound Past structure: *a interesat-o* ‘it interested her’.

The following sections are intended as descriptive accounts of auxiliary selection in seven modern Romance languages: French, Catalan, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, Rhaeto-Romance, and Romanian. Each section will take into account the classes of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary (including reflexive verbs), the special cases of agreement of the past participle, impersonal constructions, if any, and, in the end, special features of auxiliary selection in each particular language. I have chosen to semantically classify the categories of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary according to the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, as established in Sorace (2000). For a detailed discussion of this study, please refer to Chapter 1, section 1.4.3.1.4.

2.2. French

In Modern French, HAVE is the perfect auxiliary for all transitive verbs, for the vast majority of intransitive verbs (including *être* ‘be’), and for impersonal (including weather) and modal verbs (cf. Grevisse 1988:1217):

- (61) Elle **a** fermé la porte.
 she has closed the door
 ‘She has closed the door.’

- (62) Il **a** dormi longtemps.
 he has slept for a long time
 ‘He slept for a long time.’

- (63) J’ **ai** eu peur.
 I have:1sg had fear
 ‘I was afraid.’

- (64) Il a plu toute la journée.
it has rained whole the day
'It rained all day long.'

- (65) Il a dû partir.
he has had go
'He had to go.'

2.2.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

For Modern French, Grevisse (1988) gives a list of 21 intransitive verbs selecting *être* as perfect auxiliary, plus eight compounds such as *redevenir* 'to become again', *rentrer* 'to go/come back in', *repartir* 'to leave again', *ressortir* 'to go/come out (again)', *retomber* 'to fall again', *revenir* 'to come back', *survenir* 'to occur, arise'). Grevisse also includes among the compounds the verb *parvenir* 'to reach', which appears to be mainly a transitive verb according to *The Collins Paperback French Dictionary* (1995) and to *Dictionnaire Universel Francophone* (Hachette 1997); therefore, *parvenir* will not be discussed here.

Following Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, French verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary can semantically be classified as follows (for a description of the Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, see section 1.4.3.1.4. above):

1. Change of location: *aller* 'to go', *arriver* 'to arrive', *venir* 'to come'.
2. Change of state:
 - a. verbs of directed motion: *entrer* 'to enter', *sortir* 'to exit, get out', *partir* 'to depart, leave', *retourner* 'to return, turn around', *tomber* 'to fall', *rentrer* 'to go/come back in', *repartir* 'to leave again', *ressortir* 'to go/come out (again)', *retomber* 'to fall again', *revenir* 'to come back'.
 - b. internally caused verbs of change of state: *devenir* 'to become' (exceptions *mourir* 'to die', *décéder* 'to die', *naître* 'to be born').
 - c. verbs of happening: *survenir* 'to occur, arise'.
3. Continuation of a pre-existing state: *rester* 'to remain'.

Grevisse (1988:1219) acknowledges the fact that in some variants some of these verbs select the perfect auxiliary *avoir* ‘have’ either because of a literary archaism (*Les plus grands écrivains ont tombé dans ce défaut* ‘The greatest writers made this mistake’) or because of an influence of a local patois.

It has been noted above that *être* selects *avoir* as perfect auxiliary. However, Grevisse (1988:1217) observes that *être* often takes *être* in the spoken language in Paris and especially in southern France (Provence): *Non, je n’y suis pas été* ‘No, I have not been there’ (correct *je n’y ai pas été*). This usage is also found in philosophical writings, such as Sartre’s (*idem*).

Être is also the perfect auxiliary of French reflexive verbs:

- (66) Elle s’**est** blessée.
she refl is hurt:f.sg
‘She has hurt herself.’

- (67) Elle s’**est** évanouie.
she refl is fainted:f.sg
‘She has fainted.’

Être is also used when the clitic functioning as object of an infinitive appears before the verb governing that infinitive (cf. the following example from Grevisse 1988:1218):

- (68) Rousseau s’est peint lui-même tel qu’il s’**est** voulu voir.
‘R. painted himself as he wanted to be seen (by others).’

Grevisse (1988:1218) also notes that in spoken French the Compound Past tense of reflexive verbs is often constructed with *avoir*: *je m’**ai** senti pas satisfait* ‘I did not feel satisfied’ (correct *je ne me **suis** pas senti satisfait*), *je m’**ai** aveuglé* ‘I turned myself blind’ (correct *je me **suis** aveuglé*).

Just like other Romance languages, French has a number of verbs which can be used both intransitively and transitively. These verbs select either *avoir* or *être* as perfect auxiliary, according to their meaning and syntactic usage. According to Grevisse (1988), they choose *avoir* when they express the action in itself (*Sa vie a*

changé ‘his life has changed’) and *être* when they express *l’état résultant de l’action accomplie* (the resultant state of the accomplished action) (*Sa vie est changée* ‘his life is changed’, i.e. is no longer the same).

Grevisse gives a whole list of verbs which correspond to this criterion. His list contains some forty verbs, most of which are change of state verbs: *aborder* ‘to land’, *aboutir* ‘to succeed’, *accoucher* ‘to give birth’, *accourir* ‘to rush, run up’, *accroître* ‘to increase’, *alunir* ‘to land on the moon’, *apparaître* ‘to appear’, *atterrir* ‘to land’, *augmenter* ‘to increase’, *baisser* ‘to fall, drop, go down’, *camper* ‘to camp’, *cesser* ‘to stop, cease’, *changer* ‘to change’, *chavirer* ‘to capsize, overturn’, *commencer* ‘to begin’, *crever* ‘to burst’, *croître* ‘to grow’, *crouler* ‘to collapse’, *croupir* ‘to stagnate’, *déborder* ‘to overflow’, *décamper* ‘to clear out/off’, *déchoir* ‘to lower/demean one self’, *décroître* ‘to decrease, decline’, *dégeler* ‘to thaw (out)’, *dégénérer* ‘to degenerate’, *déménager* ‘to move (house)’, *dénicher* ‘to unearth’, *descendre* ‘to go down’, *diminuer* ‘to diminish’, *disparaître* ‘to disappear’, *divorcer* ‘to divorce’, *échapper* ‘to escape’, *échouer* ‘to fail’, *éclater* ‘to burst’, *éclore* ‘to open (out)’, *embellir* ‘to grow lovelier’, *empirer* ‘to worsen’, *enchérir* ‘to outbid’, *enlaidir* ‘to become ugly’, *expirer* ‘to expire’, *faillir* ‘to outcast’, *finir* ‘to finish’, *grandir* ‘to grow’, *grossir* ‘to put on weight’, *maigrir* ‘to get thinner’, *monter* ‘to go/come up’, *paraître* ‘to seem, appear’, *passer* ‘to go/pass (by)’, *pourrir* ‘to rot’, *rajeunir* ‘to become/look younger’, *récidiver* ‘to commit subsequent offence’, *ressusciter* ‘to rise (from the dead)’, *résulter* ‘to result’, *sonner* ‘to ring, sound’, *trébucher* ‘to stumble’, *trépasser* ‘to pass away’, *vieillir* ‘to grow old’ (cf. Grevisse 1988:1220).

In respect to this class of verbs Meyer-Lübke (1974:330) argued that French tends to use *avoir* with all past participles of these verbs and *être* in all the cases in which it has to express a meaning that cannot be expressed by *avoir*. Kinder (2003) observes that in this latter case, the past participle easily assumes greater salience as an adjective, and the auxiliary becomes, so to speak, degrammaticalized and assumes the status of copula: cf. *il est grandi/vieilli* ‘he has grown/grown old’.

2.2.2. Agreement of the past participle

As in other Romance languages displaying auxiliary selection, the past participle following the perfect auxiliary *être* agrees in number and gender with the subject of the verb:

| | |
|-----------------------------------|------------------------------------|
| <i>Je suis venu / venue</i> | 'I (m.) / (f.) am (=have) come' |
| <i>Tu es venu / venue</i> | 'You (m.) / (f.) are (=have) come' |
| <i>Il est venu</i> | 'He is (=has) come' |
| <i>Elle est venue</i> | 'She is (=has) come' |
| <i>Nous sommes venus / venues</i> | 'We are (=have) come' |
| <i>Vous êtes venus / venues</i> | 'You are (=have) come' |
| <i>Ils sont venus</i> | 'They (m.) are (=have) come' |
| <i>Elles sont venues</i> | 'They (f.) are (=have) come' |

The past participle of reflexive verbs also agrees in gender and number with the subject: *il s'est réveillé* 'he woke up', *elle s'est réveillée* 'she woke up', *ils se sont réveillés* 'they (m.) woke up', *elles se sont réveillées* 'they (f.) woke up'. The exception to this rule is represented by the verbs *se rire* 'laugh', *se plaire* 'enjoy', *se déplaire* 'not enjoy', and *se complaire* 'enjoy', whose past participles always remain invariable in the structure of the Compound Past tense (cf. Grevisse 1988:1378).

The past participle of reflexive verbs agrees with the direct object if the past participle is placed after the direct object (cf. Grevisse 1988:1378). In the following example, the past participle *imaginé* agrees in gender and number with the direct object *les choses*, and not with the subject *ils*, but this agreement does not affect the spoken form (since these forms are pronounced the same):

- (69) les choses qu' ils se sont imaginées
the things:f that they:m refl have:3pl imagined:f.pl
'the things that they imagined'

When the reflexive clitic functions as indirect object, the past participle remains invariable: *les rois se sont succédé sur le trône* 'the kings have succeeded each other on the throne' (cf. Grevisse 1988:1378).

2.2.3. Special features of auxiliary selection in French

It is important to point out that the rule of auxiliary selection in French is more theoretical than practical. A predisposition for simplification is felt nowadays in modern French, manifested in the tendency for perfect active paradigms to use

avoir in all circumstances. Nevertheless, this inclination has not had consequences comparable to those in Spanish and Portuguese, and linguists assume that *être* is still totally safe, at least in metropolitan French. But the trend towards *avoir* proves to be stronger in French dialects spoken outside continental French.

A number of studies of Canadian (Montreal) French reveal that auxiliary usage does not correspond to Standard French, with the usage of *avoir* being much more widespread. The handful of verbs selecting BE in Canadian French is just a subset of the ones with BE in European French. Sankoff and Thibault (1977) argue that only the verbs *aller*, *revenir*, *venir*, *entrer* and *arriver* select *être* as perfect auxiliary, though this selection is sometimes annihilated for some speakers in some dialects, with *avoir* functioning as the universal perfect auxiliary.

King (2000:67-8) reports that the auxiliary *avoir* is used in the great majority of cases in Acadian French, including with verbs which take *être* in the standard language, as in the following examples:

- (70) Plusieurs **avont** venu du Nouveau-Brunswick.
several have:3pl come from New Brunswick
'Several came from New Brunswick.'
- (71) Il **a** parti avant nous-autres.
he has left before us others
'He left before us.'

Reflexive, reciprocal and pronominal verbs are likewise conjugated with the perfect auxiliary *avoir* (cf. the following examples from King 2000:68):

- (72) Je m' ai bâti une maison.
I refl:1sg have:1sg built a house
'I built myself a house.'
- (73) Ils s' avont vu.
they RECP have:3pl seen
'They saw each other.'

- (74) Ils s' avont moqué de nous-autres.
 they PRON have:3pl mocked of us others
 'They made fun of us.'

The only verb which shows up regularly with *être* is *naître* 'to be born', as in *il a été né* 'he was born'. Given that this verb is more often found in the *surcomposé* rather than the Compound Past (Standard French *il est né* 'he was born'), Gesner (1979:47), in his study of Baie Sainte-Marie Acadian, suggests that the Acadian verb is actually *être né* 'to be born', calqued on English usage.

In conclusion, auxiliary selection in French may be compared with auxiliary selection in Spanish, which disappeared in the fifteenth century (see Chapter 3, section 3.2.), leaving HAVE as the universal perfect auxiliary. However, this evolution is incomplete in Modern French, but other non-continental varieties have taken this development even further.

2.3. Catalan

A distinct feature that individualizes Catalan among the other Romance languages is the lack of a well-defined class of auxiliary verbs or modals. This does not mean, however, that it also lacks periphrastic constructions. Historically derived from the present of the verb *anar* 'to go', the *va-* formative, with only two paradigms - an indicative and a subjunctive - forms the periphrastic past perfect, which is interchangeable with the synthetic form:²⁰

- (75) el tren va **arribar** a les tres
 the train pr.3sg. arrive:inf at the three
 'The train arrived at three o'clock.'

- (76) el tren **arribà** a les tres
 the train arrived at the three
 'The train arrived at three o'clock.'

²⁰ Hualde 1992:304 notes that the synthetic preterit is used in the written language, as well as in the spoken usage of certain regions outside of Catalonia proper (Valencia).

In addition to this more common construction, the Catalan verbal system also displays the combination of the auxiliary *haver* ‘to have’ and a participle (e.g. *he anat* ‘I have gone’) which is well integrated into the Catalan tense/aspect system (cf. Wheeler 1988a:194).

2.3.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

Signs of lexical auxiliary selection in Catalan are reported by Hualde (1992:88), who observes that in some Catalan dialects (unfortunately, he does not provide the names of those dialects) intransitive verbs like *arribar* ‘to arrive’ form their Compound Past with the auxiliary *ésser* ‘to be’:

- (77) En Joan **é** arribat
Art John is arrived
‘John has arrived.’

- (78) En Joan **ha** treballat
Art John has worked
‘John has worked.’

There is no mention regarding the perfect auxiliary selected by reflexive verbs in the above mentioned dialects.

Wheeler (1988a:194) discusses signs of lexical auxiliary selection in Balearic (a type of Catalan spoken in the Balearic Islands in the Mediterranean Sea), which has preserved the older use of *ésser* as a perfect auxiliary with reflexive and certain intransitive verbs. It seems possible that Hualde’s examples ((77) and (78) above) represent Balearic.

However, according to Hualde (1992:89), in the most extended modern usage, all Catalan verbs select the perfect auxiliary *haver* ‘have’.

2.3.2. Agreement of the past participle

In the Catalan dialects with lexical auxiliary selection the past participle accompanying the perfect auxiliary HAVE agrees in gender and number with the preceding object of the verb. This type of agreement also affects the subject of verbs

selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, but not that of verbs selecting HAVE, cf. the following examples from Hualde (1992:88):

- (79) Les feines, les **hem** fetes aquest matí
the tasks them:f have:1pl done:f.pl this morning
'We have done the tasks this morning.'

- (80) Les noies **són** arribades aquest matí
the girls are:3pl arrived:f.pl this morning
'The girls have arrived this morning.'

- (81) Les noies **han** treballat aquest matí
the girls have:3pl worked:m.sg this morning
'The girls have worked this morning.'

Wheeler (1988a:194) reports that in the standard language and in many spoken varieties (including Balearic) the participle still often agrees with a following third person direct object non-reflexive clitic, especially if it is feminine and singular:

- (82) he trobada una olla plena d' or
has found:f.sg a pot full of gold
'he had found a pot full of gold'

Hualde (1992:89) concludes that participial agreement in Catalan largely depends on the presence of a clitic. Thus, for many speakers, there is participial agreement in gender and number with cliticized direct objects, as in example (79) above, and also with the subject of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, as in example (80). Participial agreement also occurs if the subject of the verbs selecting BE has been cliticized by the partitive *en*, cf the following examples from Hualde (1992:89):

- (83) Han arribat moltes noies
have:3pl arrived:m.sg many girls
'Many girls have arrived.'

- (84) N' han arribades moltes
 part have:3pl arrived:f.pl many:f.pl
 'Many of them have arrived.'

Though studies on Catalan are rather scarce and auxiliary selection seems to be present only in some dialects, it may be concluded that auxiliary selection in Catalan is relatively simple, being comparable with its French counterpart. However, past participial agreement is more complicated, with agreement depending upon the presence of clitics.

2.4. Occitan

In Occitan the constructions *aver* 'have' + past participle and *èsser* 'be' + past participle are used to express present perfect actions and the anterior relative tenses, together with the *temps sobrecompausats* (cf. the French *temps surcomposés*). According to Wheeler (1988b:264), auxiliary selection in Occitan follows the same patterning as in French, but the number of verbs selecting *èsser* is slightly wider.

2.4.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

Among the intransitive verbs selecting *èsser*, Wheeler (1988b:264) mentions ten verbs which always choose BE as perfect auxiliary (*anar* 'go', *arribar* 'arrive', *davalar* ~ *descendre* 'go down', *èsser* 'be', *entrar* 'enter', *montar* ~ *pojar* 'go up', *morir* 'die', *nàisser* 'be born', *tornar* 'return', *venir* 'come'); and four intransitives with variable auxiliary selection (*caire* ~ *tombar* 'fall', *demorar* 'stay', *espelir* 'hatch, open', *partir* 'leave').

Following Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, Occitan verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary can semantically be classified as follows:

1. Change of location: *anar* 'to go', *arribar* 'to arrive', *venir* 'to come'
2. Change of state:
 - a. verbs of directed motion: *entrar* 'to enter', *sortir* 'to exit, get out', *partir* 'to depart, leave', *tornar* 'to return', *tombar* 'to fall', *davalar* 'descend', *pojar* 'climb'

- b. internally caused verbs of change of state: *devenir* ‘to become’
(including the exceptions *morir* ‘die’ and *nàisser* ‘be born’)
- 3. Continuation of a pre-existing state: *demorar* ‘stay’
- 4. Existence of state (verbs referring to concrete states): *èsser* ‘be’

Note that Occitan follows the Italian pattern in selecting the perfect auxiliary BE for the verb BE itself: *soi estat* in Occitan, but *j’ai été* in French.

Reflexive verbs in Occitan, whatever the case of the reflexive clitic, select the perfect auxiliary *èsser* (cf. the following examples from Wheeler 1988b:264):

- (85) s’ èron taisats
refl were:3pl silent:m.pl
‘They had fallen silent.’
- (86) me soi copat lo dit
me am cut:m.sg the finger
‘I’ve cut my finger’

2.4.2. Agreement of the past participle

Modern Occitan past participles accompanying the perfect auxiliary *èsser* show number and gender agreement with the subject in most varieties:

- (87) Es nascut / nascuda a Bordèu.
is born:m/born:f at Bordèu
‘He/she was born in Bordeaux.’
- (88) Sèm nascuts / nascudas a Lemòtges.
are:1pl born:m.pl/born:f.pl at Lemòtges
‘We were born in L.’
- (89) Sètz nascuts / nascudas a Clarмонт.
are:2pl born:m.pl/born:f.pl at Clarмонт
‘You were born in C.’

- (90) Son nascuts / nascudas a Gap
are:3pl born:m.pl/born:f.pl at Gap
'They were born in Gap.'

Wheeler (1988b:270) mentions that with reflexive verbs in the Compound Past tense, the past participle agrees with the subject:

- (91) me som facha mal
refl am done:f.sg hurt
'I (f.) have hurt myself'
(92) ela s' es copada lo braç
she refl. is cut:f.sg the arm
'she has cut her arm'

but also with the object, if the verb is transitive:

- (93) Castela s' es facha una glòria
Castela refl. is done:f.sg a wonder
'C. has turned into a wonder.'

2.4.3. Special features of auxiliary selection in Occitan

Despite Wheeler's claim (1988b:194) that the number of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary is larger in Occitan than in French, it can be argued that auxiliary selection in Occitan has the same degree of complexity as its French counterpart. However, there is no mention in the literature of a tendency towards the grammaticalization of HAVE as universal perfect auxiliary in Occitan as in continental and Canadian French.

2.5. Italian

Auxiliary selection in Italian has been the object of study for many linguists, especially for those with an interest in unaccusativity (Rosen (1984), Vincent (1988), Burzio (1989), Van Valin (1990), etc.), perhaps due to the variety and consistency of intransitive verbs selecting *essere* 'be' (Maiden & Robustelli (2000) report there are

around 300 such verbs in Italian). Comparing French and Spanish with Italian in respect to the choice of the perfect auxiliary, Vincent (1987:245) suggests that the situation attested in French and Spanish is but a historical development of the one surviving in Italian.

One of the most concise descriptions of the rules of auxiliary selection in Italian is Maiden (1995:150), who argues that auxiliary selection in Modern Italian is subject to the following three general principles:

1. All transitive verbs generally select *avere* 'have', cf. the following example from Perlmutter (1989:63):

(94) Giorgio ha/* è ucciso Guido
'Giorgio killed Guido.'

2. All reflexive verbs (including impersonal reflexive structures)²¹ select *essere*, cf. the following examples from Perlmutter (1989:63):

(95) Giorgio si è/*ha ucciso
'Giorgio killed himself.'

(96) Giorgio ha/*è comprato una macchina.
'Giorgio bought a car.'

(97) Giorgio mi ha/*è comprato una macchina.
'Giorgio bought me a car.'

(98) Giorgio si è/*ha comprato una macchina.
'Giorgio bought himself a car.'

3. Some intransitive verbs select *essere*, others *avere*. According to Maiden (1995), verbs belonging to this latter category can be divided into two semantic classes. The first one includes verbs of existence, condition or state (*è esistito* 'he has existed', *è stato* 'he has been'), plus verbs expressing value or

²¹ Just like reflexives, *si* impersonal constructions require that all verbs, both transitive and intransitive, be conjugated with *essere* (cf. Centineo 1996:227).

quantity: *è valso mille lire* ‘it was worth a thousand lire’, *è pesato tre chili* ‘it weighted three kilos’, *è costato due sterline* ‘it cost two pounds’, etc. The second class includes verbs expressing change of existence, condition, or state (*è cambiato* ‘he has changed’, *è diventato* ‘he has become’, *è migliorato* ‘it has improved’, *è arrivato* ‘he has arrived’, *è caduto* ‘he has fallen’, *è svanito* ‘he has vanished’, *è nato* ‘he has been born’, *è morto* ‘he has died’, *è rimasto* ‘he has remained’, *è restato* ‘he has stayed’, *è risultato* ‘he has turned out’, etc.). The ongoing dispute over the determinants of auxiliary selection in Modern Italian is a complex one, incorporating several major theoretical frameworks, and reviewing it falls outside the scope of this study. See Chapter 1 for more information on this topic.

2.5.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

Studying data from four Italian dictionaries, Kinder (2003) put together a list of 276 *essere*-taking verbs. These verbs are divided into two groups: the first category numbers 150 verbs which take only *essere* (even though for certain verbs *avere* is now increasingly used in informal registers, especially of speech); the second category contains 126 verbs that take *essere* and *avere* according to grammatical usage (transitivity) or change in meaning.

A list of the common verbs that take the auxiliary *essere* is given in the traditional grammar of Lepschy & Lepschy (1988:143-4): *accadere* ‘to happen’, *andare* ‘to go’, *arrivare* ‘to arrive’, *bastare* ‘to be enough’, *bisognare* ‘to be necessary’, *cadere* ‘to fall’, *comparire* ‘to appear’, *costare* ‘to cost’, *dipendere* ‘to depend’, *diventare* ‘to become’, *entrare* ‘to enter’, *essere* ‘to be’, *morire* ‘to die’, *nascere* ‘to be born’, *parere* ‘to seem’, *partire* ‘to leave’, *piacere* ‘to please’, *restare* ‘to remain’, *rimanere* ‘to remain’, *riuscire* ‘to succeed’, *scappare* ‘to escape’, *sembrare* ‘to seem’, *sparire* ‘to disappear’, *spiacere* ‘to displease’, *stare* ‘to stay’, *succedere* ‘to happen’, *uscire* ‘to go out’, *venire* ‘to come’.

Following Sorace’s Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, Italian verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary can semantically be classified as follows:²²

²² This classification is also based on Kinder (2003).

1. Change of location:²³ *andare* 'go', *arrivare* 'to arrive', *venire* 'come', *cadere* 'to fall', *accorrere* 'to run towards', *balzare* 'to jump', *tornare* 'to return', *uscire* 'to go out', *immigrare* 'to immigrate', *scappare* 'to escape', etc.
2. Change of state:²⁴
 - a. verbs of directed motion: *entrare* 'to enter', *sortire* 'to exit, get out', *partire* 'to leave', *retournare* 'to return, turn around', *cadere* 'to fall'.
 - b. internally caused verbs of change of state: *diventare* 'to become', *divenire* 'to become', *arrossire* 'to blush', *decrescere* 'to diminish', *fiorire* 'to flourish', *marcire* 'to rot', etc. (including the exceptions *morire* 'to die' and *nascere* 'to be born').
 - c. verbs of happening: *accadere* 'to happen', *capitare* 'to happen by chance', *ricorrere* 'to recur', *risultare* 'to turn out', etc.
3. Continuation of a pre-existing state: *permanere* 'to persist', *restare* 'to remain', *rimanere* 'to remain', *sopravvivere* 'to survive', etc.
4. Existence of state:²⁵
 - a. verbs referring to concrete states: *essere* 'to be', *stare* 'to be', *campare* 'to live', *essistere* 'to exist', etc.
 - b. positional verbs in their 'simple position' meaning: *sedere* 'to sit', *giacere* 'to lie', etc.
 - c. verbs denoting abstract or psychological states: *bisognare* 'to be necessary', *importare* 'to be important', *premere* 'to be urgent', *piacere* 'to please', *dispiacere* 'to displease', etc.

As in French, some verbs (more than 60, according to Kinder 2003) take *avere* when used transitively and *essere* when used intransitively. Most of them are change of state verbs:²⁶ *aumentare* 'to put up, grow up', *avanzare* 'to put forward', *cessare* 'to stop, cease', *cominciare* 'to start', *continuare* 'to go on, continue', *diminuire* 'to lower, go down', *esplodere* 'to fire, explode', *finire* 'to finish', *guarire*

²³ Kinder (2003) has counted around 40 Italian verbs to fit into this category.

²⁴ Kinder (2003) argues there are around 60 verbs denoting various forms of change of state, usually indefinite change.

²⁵ According to Kinder (2003), there are around 50 stative verbs which denote being, existing and seeming. This category also includes verbs denoting states or qualities and a number of verbs usually known as 'impersonal'.

²⁶ Sorace (2000) labels this category 'anticausative' and does not include it in the class of change of state verbs.

‘to cure, recover’, *invecchiare* ‘to age, grow old’, *migliorare* ‘to improve’, *passare* ‘to pass’, *salire* ‘to go up’, *scendere* ‘to go down’, *seguire* ‘to follow’, *servire* ‘to serve, be useful’, *terminare* ‘to end’, *vivere* ‘to live’ (cf. Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:145):

(99) **Ha** cessato i versamenti
‘He stopped the payments.’

(100) Il vento **è** cessato
‘The wind stopped.’

(101) Mi **ha** passato il suo libro
‘He passed his book to me.’

(102) **È** passato un anno
‘A year has passed.’

Other verbs selecting either *avere* or *essere* according to their meaning include: *convenire* ‘to agree’, *durare* ‘to last’, *mancare* ‘to be missing’, *procedere* ‘to progress’, and *appartenere* ‘to belong’ (cf. the following examples from Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:146):

(103) Queste scarpe **hanno** durato molto
‘These shoes have lasted a long time.’

(104) La commedia **è** durata due ore
‘The play lasted two hours.’

Kinder (2003) argues that there are many verbs that once had this transitive/intransitive usage but nowadays there is a tendency to express the intransitive meaning through the reflexive. In these cases the past participle with *essere* (107) is perceived more as an adjective accompanying a copula. This trend seems to be spreading and now affects a very large number of verbs, cf. the following examples from Kinder (2003):

- (105) Matteo **ha** cotto la pasta
‘Matteo cooked the pasta’
- (106) La pasta si è cotta in otto minuti precisi
‘The pasta cooked in eight minutes exactly’
- (107) La pasta è cotta: tutti a tavola!
‘The pasta is cooked: everyone to the table!’

According to Centineo (1996:225), a small group of verbs, including motion verbs such as *correre* ‘to run’, may take either auxiliary depending on the presence of a prepositional phrase indicating the source or goal of the motion:

- (108) Il cane è corso a casa.
the dog is run to house
‘the dog ran home.’
- (109) Gianni **ha** corso per un ora.
Gianni has run for a hour
‘Gianni ran for an hour.’

Reflexive verbs in Standard Italian also take *essere* as perfect auxiliary:

- (110) Maria si è criticata.
Maria refl is criticized:f.sg
‘Maria has criticized herself’.

2.5.2. Agreement of the past participle

In all instances where the Compound Past is formed with the perfect auxiliary *essere*, the past participle agrees in gender and number with the subject;

- (111) La situazione economica è **peggiorata** molto
the situation economic is worsened:f.sg much
‘The economic situation has worsened a lot’

2.5.3. Impersonal constructions

Impersonal verbs (see the class of existence of state verbs above) normally select the auxiliary *essere*: *è capitato, è successo* ‘it happened’, but impersonal verbs of weather and atmospheric phenomena can occur with either auxiliary (cf. the following examples from Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:144):

- (112) *è piovuto* or *ha piovuto*
‘it rained’
- (113) *è nevicato* or *ha nevicato*
‘it snowed’
- (114) *è grandinato* or *ha grandinato*
‘it hailed’
- (115) *è gelato* or *ha gelato*
‘it froze.’

Kinder (2003) reports that although traditional usage indicates the use of *essere*, *avere* is very widely used today with these verbs because, according to Sorace (2000:878), they contain a component of sound or light emission, e.g. *tuonare* ‘thunder’, *lampeggiare* ‘flash’. *Essere* is often considered to be high register or typical of central Italian usage. Some of these verbs select a different auxiliary when used to refer to things other than the weather. *Piovere*, for instance, takes *essere* in metaphorical uses, as in the following example from Kinder (2003):

- (116) Gli sono piovute addosso disgrazie a non finire
‘No end of bad luck poured down on him’

But verbs like *lampeggiare* and *tuonare* select *avere* when used metaphorically, cf. the following examples from Kinder (2003):

- (117) Il semaforo dev’essere rotto: ha lampeggiato tutta la notte
‘The traffic light must be broken: it flashed all night’

- (118) Il predicatore ha tuonato contro il malcostume generale
 ‘The preacher railed against the widespread immorality.’

2.5.4. Special features of auxiliary selection in Italian

When a verb taking normally the auxiliary *essere* is constructed with the modals *dovere* ‘must’, *potere* ‘can’, *volere* ‘will’, these three verbs in a Compound Past have a choice between the two perfect auxiliaries, cf. the following examples from Lepschy & Lepschy 1988:145):

- (119) È dovuto partire or ha dovuto partire
 ‘he had to leave’
 (120) Non è potuto arrivare or non ha potuto arrivare
 ‘he could not arrive’
 (121) È voluto venire or ha voluto venire
 ‘he wanted to come’.

2.5.5. Italian dialects

Within the dialects of Italy there is considerable diversity in respect to auxiliary selection. It is generally agreed that *avere* tends to be generalized in the South, but it is also found in the North, especially in Piedmont and Veneto. Parry (1997:242) reports that in Piedmontese²⁷ [a'vei] ‘have’ is used with meteorological and modal verbs, while some varieties use either auxiliary in reflexive constructions. Traces of the extension of [‘esse] ‘be’ to transitive verbs are found near Turin (cf. Tuttle 1986).

The use of *avere* with reflexives, which was common in old Tuscan until the 17th century (with optional participle agreement), is still the norm in most of the South and in several parts of the North, especially Veneto. In the north *essere* is used with fewer verbs than in the standard language. Central dialects sometimes select the perfect auxiliary according to the person of the verb: usually the third person (singular and plural) chooses *avere* (see examples below). Within these dialects,

²⁷ Piedmontese forms the border between Gallo-Italian and the rest of Gallo-Romance (Occitan, Franco-Provençal and French).

Tuttle (1986) identified a tendency for *essere* to replace *avere*, which goes against the more usual trend.

For the dialects of the centre and south, auxiliary selection varies extremely. Loporcaro (1997:347) reports that while in Tarantino HAVE is used with all verbs, in other dialects a single pattern of auxiliary selection is frequently found with all verbs, combining HAVE and BE in different persons. Thus, in Biscegliese BE is selected only in the second person singular: [si arɾə'vɔtə] 'you have arrived' (idem). Free variation occurs, often limited to unaccusatives. In Lecce, transitives, unergatives and all reflexives take HAVE, but unaccusatives select BE: ['iddʒa *a / ε ʃ 'ʃu:ta] 'she has gone'. Loporcaro (1997:347) also reports that exclusive selection of HAVE with reflexives is widespread in Salentino: in Otranto all reflexives pattern together with transitives / unergatives and differently from unaccusatives:

Reflexives:

- (122) ['kwiddi s'anu mud'da:ti]
'they have got soaked'
- (123) ['kwiddi s'anu 'skritti 'tantu 'tjempu]
'they have written to each other for a long time'
- (124) ['kwiddi s'anu spit'tsata l'aŋka]
'they have broken their leg'

Transitives / unergatives:

- (125) ['addʒu spit'tsata l'aŋka a lu 'ninu]
'I have broken Nino's leg'
- (126) ['addʒu 'tittu b'bo:nu]
'I have said correctly'

Unaccusatives:

- (127) [su kka'tu:tu / ʃ 'ʃu:tu]
'I have fallen / gone'

For the dialects of Cellino, Loporcaro (1997:347) believes there is identical auxiliation for unaccusatives and reflexives, as distinct from unergatives and transitives. Loporcaro argues there are reports of free variation in Brindisino unaccusatives and reflexives. Bentley & Eythórsson (1999:64) report free variation between HAVE and BE in some or most persons in Altamurano. Past participle agreement, unaffected by the changes in auxiliary selection, is found with all direct objects, including the reflexive objects, as in the following examples from Altamurano (cf. Loporcaro 1997:347):

- (128) [pɛp'pɪn a r'rottə la sɛddʒ]
 'Peppino has broken (f.sg.) the chair (f.sg.).'

- (129) [ɪ 'sɪddʒə s a'wɔnnərɔtt]
 'The chairs (f.pl.) have broken (f.pl.).'

Obligatory past participle agreement with direct objects is a conservative feature which Pugliese and Salentino share with the other southern dialects except southern Calabrian and Sicilia (cf. Loporcaro 1997:347).

Ledgeway (2000) is a very interesting account of auxiliary selection in the Neapolitan area, which exhibits “an unprecedented wealth of variation” in this respect (Ledgeway 2000:185). Literary Neapolitan is the most conservative variety, whereas spoken urban Neapolitan proves “more innovative, displaying a quasi-universal use of the HAVE auxiliary irrespective of verb class” (idem). Ledgeway has identified three special cases that characterize auxiliary selection in Neapolitan.

The first variation that Ledgeway talks about in his study refers to the criterion of grammatical person. This type of variation is frequently found in peripheral varieties and it consists in the preference of selecting BE as perfect auxiliary with verbs in the first person (as in (130) below) and HAVE with verbs in the third person (as in (131) below):

- (130) so' visto a Ciro / arrevato
 'I have seen Ciro / arrived'

- (131) ha visto a Ciro / arrevato
 'he has seen Ciro / arrived'

Hastings (1997:329) also reports that in some dialects spoken in the central Italian region of Abruzzo and Molise auxiliary selection is governed by person for all verbs (including reflexives): Eastern dialects commonly use HAVE for the third person singular and third person plural of all verbs and BE (characterized by initial [s]-) in others:

- (132) 1sg. [so 'skrittə] 'I have written',
 2sg. [si 'skrittə],
 3sg. [a 'skrittə],
 1pl. ['semə 'skrittə]
 2pl. ['settə 'skrittə]
 3pl. [a 'skrittə]

The west commonly uses BE in the second person singular, and HAVE elsewhere, cf. Hastings (1997:329):

- (133) 1sg. ['ɛjjə mə 'nutə] 'I have come'
 2 sg. [ʃi mə 'nutə]
 3 sg. [a mə 'nutə]
 1pl. ['emmə mə 'nutə]
 2pl. ['ɛjtə mə 'nutə]
 3pl. ['ovə mə 'nutə]

The same tendency is found in Biscegliese (Southern Italy), where BE is selected only in the second person singular, as in the following examples from Loporcaro (1997:347):

- (134) [si arɾə 'votə]
 'you have arrived'

(135) [si pper 'tɔtə]
 'you have bought]

(136) [aʃʃə / 'ɔvə / a'voimə / a'voɪtə / 'ɔnnə arɾə'vɔtə / pɐr 'tɔtə]
 'I/he/we/you (pl.)/they have arrived/bought'.

The second type of variation involves the selection of auxiliaries according to tense. It involves the two analytic past tenses, the present perfect and the pluperfect. Ledgeway (2000) reports the following examples from Procidano, where the present perfect is made up of the auxiliary HAVE and the pluperfect with the auxiliary BE:

(137) hó visto a Ciri / arrevètò
 'I have seen Ciri / arrived' (present perfect)

(138) fove visto a Ciri / arrevètò
 'I had seen Ciri / arrived' (pluperfect)

It can be argued that a possible explanation for this type of variation is that the Pluperfect describes the state of affairs before something else happens, hence the auxiliary BE, which is precisely used to indicate states of affairs.

The third type of variation is the most interesting one. In this case auxiliary selection is determined by a combination of grammatical person and clitic-doubling. Such cases are found in an obsolescent urban dialect, and Ledgeway reports the following examples:

(139) aggiu visto a Ciri
 have seen prep. Ciri
 'I have seen Ciri.' (1sg subject, DP-object)

(140) 'o so' visto a Ciri
 him am seen prep. Ciri
 'I have seen (him) Ciri.' (1sg subject, clitic-doubled DP-object)

- (141) (l') ha visto a Ciro
(him) has seen prep. Ciro
'he has seen (him) Ciro' (3sg subject, (clitic-doubled) DP-object)

Here again it looks like verbs in the first person prefer BE, whereas verbs in the third person choose the auxiliary HAVE.

2.5.6. Conclusion

Modern Italian offers the most complex example of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. It has been shown that Italian has the greatest number of verbs, apart from reflexives, selecting BE as perfect auxiliary. In addition, Italian is the only Romance language where impersonal verbs choose BE as perfect auxiliary. Other factors affecting auxiliary selection are the choice of person and of tense. Italian dialects vary considerably with respect to the choice of the perfect auxiliary, with the generalization of HAVE in the Northern dialects, a tendency to replace BE with HAVE in the Central dialects, and an extreme variation in the South.

2.6. Sardinian

According to Jones (1993:130), the general rule of auxiliary selection in Sardinian is that the choice between HAVE and BE as perfect auxiliary is determined either by the nature of the main verb or by the presence or absence of a reflexive clitic. All Jones' accounts of auxiliary selection in Sardinian (1993A, 1993, 1997) follow the framework of unaccusativity. His conclusion (1997:381) is that BE is selected by unaccusative verbs and by transitive verbs whose direct object is realized as a reflexive clitic, whereas HAVE is selected in all other cases, including reflexives where the clitic corresponds to an indirect object.

2.6.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

As expected, the perfect auxiliary *éssere* 'be' (Logudorese *essi*) is used only with certain intransitive verbs: e.g. *est bessidu* 'he has got out', *est náschidu* 'he has been born', *est créschidu* 'he has grown up' (cf. Blasco Ferrer 1986:143). Cf. also the following examples from Jones (1993:102):

- (142) Tres pitzinnas **sun** vénnitas.
three girls are:3pl come:f.pl
'Three girls have come.'

- (143) Carki tassas **sun** ruttas.
some glasses are:3pl fallen:f.pl
'Some glasses have fallen down.'

- (144) Metas sordatos **sun** mortos.
many soldiers are:3pl dead:m.pl
'Many soldiers have died.'

Following Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, Sardinian verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary can semantically be classified as follows:

1. Change of location verbs: *vénnere* 'come', *arrivare* 'arrive', *andare* 'go', etc.
2. Change of state verbs:
 - a. verbs of directed motion: *ampilare* 'go up', *falare* 'go down', *intrare* 'enter', *issire* 'go out', *rúghere* 'fall',
 - b. internally caused verbs of change of state: *diventare* 'become', etc. (exceptions: *náskere* 'be born' and *mórrere* 'die')
 - c. verbs of appearance, such as *isparire* 'disappear',
3. Continuation of a pre-existing state: *abbarrare* 'stay, remain',
4. Existence of state
 - a. verbs referring to concrete states: *éssere* 'be', *istare* 'stay, live', etc.
 - b. verbs denoting abstract or psychological states: *importare* 'concern, be important', *aggradare* 'please', *(dis)piághere* '(dis)please', etc.

As in Italian, some verbs which normally choose *áere* 'have' as perfect auxiliary select *éssere* in the presence of an additional complement, such as Goal or Source, or an incidental Dative denoting the possessor (cf. the following examples from Jones 1993:110-1):

- (145) **Appo** cúrritu meta.
 have:1sg run:m.pl much
 ‘I ran a lot.’
- (146) **So** cúrritu a domo.
 am run:m.pl to home
 ‘I ran home.’
- (147) Su pudzoneddu **at** volatu pro sa prima via.
 the birdie has flown:m.sg for his first time
 ‘The little bird flew for the first time.’
- (148) Su pudzoneddu **est** volatu dae su nidu.
 the birdie is flown:m.sg from his nest
 ‘The little bird flew from the nest.’
- (149) Sos frores **an** créskitu.
 the flowers have:3pl grown:m.sg
 ‘The flowers have grown.’
- (150) Sos pilos mi **sun** créskitos.
 the hairs me:Dat are:3pl grown:m.pl
 ‘My hair has grown.’

Following the general Romance trend, *éssere* is also the perfect auxiliary of Sardinian reflexive verbs (cf. the following examples from Jones 1993:110-1):

- (151) Juanne s’**est** fertu.
 ‘John hurt himself.’
- (152) Maria s’**est** brujata.
 ‘Mary burnt herself.’

- (153) Juanne s'**est** vistu in s'isprecu.
'John saw himself in the mirror.'
- (154) Sos pitzinnos si **sun** madzatos.
'The boys hit each other.'

Jones (1993:111) argues that *éssere* is systematically selected with Neutral-pronominal verbs, as in the following examples:

- (155) Sa janna s'**est** abberta/tuncata.
'The door opened/closed.'
- (156) Sa camba s'**est** secata.
'The branch broke.'

Jones 1993:131 (cf. also Jones (1997:381)) argues that auxiliary selection with reflexive verbs depends on the case of the reflexive clitic. Thus, when the reflexive clitic functions as a dative (as an indirect object of the verb, a dative of interest or an 'ethic' dative') and the verb is accompanied by a direct object, the auxiliary is always *áere*. In the following examples from Jones 1993:131 (157) contains a reflexive clitic functioning as indirect object, (158) contains a dative of interest, and (159) an 'ethic' dative:

- (157) Maria e Lukia s' an mandatu paritzas litteras.
Mary and Lucy refl:dat have:3pl sent:m.sg several letters
'Mary and Lucy sent each other several letters.'
- (158) Juanne s' at fraicatu una bella domo.
John refl:dat has built:m.sg a beautiful house
'John built himself a beautiful house.'
- (159) Jakeddu s' at mandicatu una meledda.
Jack refl:dat has eaten:m.sg an apple
'Jack ate an apple.'

Jones (1993:110-1) also argues that in constructions of 'inalienable possession' where the reflexive clitic represents the possessor of a body-part denoted by the direct object, the perfect auxiliary is also *áere*, as in the following examples:

- (160) Tonina s' at fertu s' anca.
Tonina refl:dat has hurt:m.sg the leg
'Tonina hurt her leg.'
- (161) Su pitzinnu s' at brujatu su póddike.
the boy refl:dat has burnt:m.sg the finger
'The boy burnt his finger.'

2.6.2. Agreement of the past participle

The participle following the perfect auxiliary *éssere* always agrees in number and gender with the subject:

- (162) Issa est andada a su cinema.
she is gone f.sg to the cinema
'She has gone to the cinema.'
- (163) Dae poi non bi sezi^s pius andados?
from then not there were:2pl. anymore gone m.pl
'You never went there afterwards?'

There is a special case of past participial agreement determined by the case and number of the clitic when the perfect auxiliary is *áere*: the participle agrees only with an accusative clitic in the third person (cf. Jones 1988b:204, 1993:83):

- (164) Las appo vistas.
them:f have:1sg seen:f.pl
'I saw them (fem.).'

- (165) Nos an vistu.
 us have:3pl seen:m.sg
 'They saw us.'

2.6.3. Impersonal constructions

As in French, and not as in Italian, Sardinian impersonal verbs (including weather verbs such as *próere* 'rain', *nivare* 'snow', *tronitare* 'thunder', cf. Jones 1993:100 and Blasco Ferrer 1986:143) choose HAVE to form the Compound Past, e.g. *at frocadu* 'it has snowed', *at próghidu (próitu)* 'it has rained', *at tronadu* 'it has been thundering', *at lampau* 'it has been lightning'.

Jones 1993:101 argues that verbs like *kérrere* 'be necessary' and *mancare* 'be missing', which occur predominantly in impersonal constructions, select *áere* as perfect auxiliary. These verbs always appear in the third person singular and are normally preceded by the locative clitic *bi*, as in the following examples from Jones (1993:101):

- (166) B' at kérfitu tres ovos pro fákere cussas gatheddas.
 Loc has needed:m.sg three eggs for make those fritters
 'Three eggs were needed to make those fritters.'
- (167) B' at mancatu milli francos.
 Loc has missed:m.sg thousand lire
 'A thousand lire were missing.'

These verbs occur in another 'personal' structure in which they agree in number with the subject. In this construction they take *éssere* as perfect auxiliary (with agreement between the past participle and the subject) (the following examples from Jones 1993:101, who does not provide any information on the possible meaning difference):

- (168) Bi sun kérfitos cussos ómines.
 Loc are:3pl needed:m.pl those men
 'Those men were needed.'

- (169) Bi sun mancan sos buttones.
 Loc are:3pl missed:m.pl the buttons
 'The buttons are missing.'

Jones (1993:113) notes that in impersonal constructions where the Theme is a whole clause the auxiliary is always *éssere*:

- (170) M' est pássidu ki Maria ésseret maláida.
 me is seemed:m.sg that Mary was ill
 'It seemed to me that Mary was ill.'
- (171) M' est piághitu a andare a incue.
 me is pleased:m.sg to go to there
 'It pleased me to go there.'

2.6.4. Special features of auxiliary selection in Sardinian

A rather different type of auxiliary alternation is found in constructions with certain modal verbs. As in Italian, but not in French, when a modal is qualified by a perfective auxiliary, the selection of the perfect auxiliary is determined by the following infinitive. Jones (1988a:182-3) brings the example of *cantare* and *andare*, which take *aere* and *essere* respectively as their perfective auxiliary. These verbs select the same auxiliaries across an intervening modal:

- (172) Juanne at devitu/potitu/kerfitu cantare.
 *Juanne est devitu/potitu/kerfitu cantare.
 'Juanne had to/was able to/wanted to sing.'
- (173) Juanne est devitu/potitu/kerfitu andare a incue.
 *Juanne at devitu/potitu/kerfitu andare a incue.
 'Juanne had to/was able to/wanted to go there.'

Jones (1988b:183) also argues that verbs which take genuine infinitival complement clauses, such as *detzidere* 'decide', do not show this transparency. They

always select *aere*, regardless of the nature of the dependent infinitive, as in the following examples from Jones (1988b:183):

- (174) Appo detzisu de cantare.
'I have decided to sing.'
- (175) Appo detzisu de andare a incue.
'I have decided to go there.'

A special case is that of the verb *torrare*²⁸ 'go back' (which takes *essere* in its movement use) shows the same transparency in its iterative use, as in the following examples from Jones (1988b:183):

- (176) Non est/*at torratu a andare a incue.
'He did not go there again.'
- (177) So torratu a legere custu libru.
'I came back to read this book.'
- (178) Appo torratu a legere custu libru.
'I have read this book again.'

Other aspectual verbs, such as *cumintzare* 'to start', do not show this transparency, but always take *aere*, as in the following example from Jones (1988b:183):

- (179) Appo cumintzatu a cantare/andare.
*So cumintzatu a cantare/andare.
'I started to sing/go there.'

²⁸ Jones considers this verb a special case within the class of aspectual verbs. Typically sentences with this verb are ambiguous between movement interpretation where the infinitive expresses a purpose and a purely iterative interpretation where *torrare* indicates repetition of the action denoted by the infinitive.

In conclusion, auxiliary selection in Sardinian is a complex grammatical phenomenon. It shares several common features with auxiliary selection in Italian, such as the use of BE with the perfect auxiliary BE, the ability to select BE in the presence of an additional complement (examples (145) – (150)) and the variation in the perfect auxiliary of modal verbs (examples (172) – (173)). However, Sardinian proves to be more complex than the other Romance languages in that the selection of the perfect auxiliary also depends on the nature of the reflexive clitic accompanying the verb (examples (157) – (161)).

2.7. Rhaeto-Romance

Auxiliary selection in the heterogeneous dialects of Rhaeto-Romance resembles, on a smaller scale, the situation in the neighboring Italian dialects, especially in the variation according to person and the choice of the perfect auxiliary with reflexive verbs.

In the following account of auxiliary selection in Rhaeto-Romance, I have followed the traditional classification of these dialects into Swiss Rhaeto-Romance (in South-Eastern Switzerland), Ladin Rhaeto-Romance (in Northern Italy), and Friulian Rhaeto-Romance²⁹ (in North-Eastern Italy).

2.7.1. Verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary

Just as in French and Italian, Rhaeto-Romance shows a preference in selecting the perfect auxiliary BE for a subset of intransitive verbs, including basic verbs of motion. Haiman and Benincà (1992:108) include in this category verbs like ‘run’, ‘grow’, ‘fall’, ‘become’, ‘enter’, ‘flee’, ‘arrive’, ‘climb’, ‘die’, ‘be born’, ‘leave’, ‘pass’, and ‘stay’. Concrete examples are to be found in Meyer-Lübke (1974:327) which also mentions that BE as perfect auxiliary is used only with verbs indicating repose, i.e. state, and movement (*le repos et le mouvement*): *ei staus* ‘he has been’, *ei venius* ‘he has come’, *ei ius* ‘he has gone’, *ei turnaus* ‘he has returned’, *ei restaus* ‘he has remained’, *ei darentaus* ‘he has become’, *ei vivius* ‘he has lived’, *ei morts* ‘he has died’, *ei sgulaus* ‘he has flown’, *ei suondaus* ‘he has followed’, *ei comparius* ‘he has appeared’.

²⁹ Recent studies no longer classify Friulian as a Rhaeto-Romance language, but as an Italian dialect.

Following Sorace's Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy, Rhaeto-Romance verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary can semantically be classified as follows:

1. Change of location: 'go', 'arrive', 'come'
2. Change of state:
 - a. verbs of directed motion: 'enter', 'leave', 'flee', 'fall', 'climb', 'pass', 'follow'
 - b. internally caused verbs of change of state: 'become', 'grow' (including the exceptions 'die' and 'be born').
 - c. verbs of happening: 'appear'
3. Continuation of a pre-existing state: 'stay'.
4. Existence of state (verbs referring to concrete states): 'be',³⁰ 'live'

According to Haiman and Benincà (1992:109) the Engadine dialects and Ladin, i.e. central Rhaeto-Romance dialects, have generalized the use of the perfect auxiliary HAVE with all verbs. On the other hand, the situation in Surselvan is more complex because grammars record either the use of HAVE or of BE, or both auxiliaries. Stimm (1976), cited by Haiman and Benincà (1992:109), observes that in Surselvan the choice of the perfect auxiliary correlates with the semantic properties of the verb. The same intransitive verb may occur with either auxiliary, depending on whether the action described is viewed as completed, in which case BE is appropriate, or merely terminated, in which case HAVE is chosen. This difference is illustrated in the following set of examples from Haiman and Benincà (1992:109): the completed action in the first one requires the use of BE, whereas the non-completed action in the second requires the use of HAVE:

- (180) *el ej morts Sko kwej k el ej viv- iws*
 he is died as that comp. he is live (prf.m.sg.)
 'He died as he lived'

³⁰ Haiman and Benincà (1992) report that the verb 'be' selects the perfect auxiliary BE in all Rhaeto-Romance languages except Friulan, which uses both HAVE and BE.

- (181) pli bawl vɛsəs ti viv- iw in ɐntir ɔn
 more soon have (imp.subj.2sg.) you live (prf.n.sg.) a whole year
 ‘Earlier, you could have lived a whole year.’

Haiman and Benincà (1992:110) report that, according to Stimm, reflexive verbs follow the same pattern, selecting BE for completing actions and HAVE for actions that have not been completed. The following examples from Haiman and Benincà (1992:109) illustrate the difference:

- (182) La malawra ej sə- rətraca ɐn las muntɔɲas
 The storm is self withdrawn:f.sg in the mountains
 ‘The storm has retreated into the mountains.’ (completed action)
- (183) el a sə- mudərɟ-aw ʌ ɐntir di pərsuls
 he has self exerted:n.sg the whole day alone
 ‘He has exerted himself all day alone.’ (non completed action)

In Friulian, Surselvan, and parts of Ladin, as in northern Italian dialects, both auxiliaries are found in apparent free variation for reflexives, as in the following examples from Friulian, although there is a tendency to favor BE in the first and second persons and HAVE in the third (cf. Haiman and Benincà 1992:110). Mention should be made that the participle agrees with the subject only when the perfect auxiliary is BE:

- (184) Je si a mitu:t a vai
 she self has put:m.sg to cry
- (185) Je si e mitude a vai
 she self is put:f.sg to cry
 ‘She began to cry.’

- (186) A si an fat batia
they self have made:m.sg baptize

- (187) A si son fats batia
they self are made:m.pl baptize
'They had themselves baptized.'

Vanelli (1997:284) also reports that with Rhaeto-Romance reflexives, as in Northern Italian dialects, both HAVE and BE can be used with the third person singular and plural: [ma'rie si 'a je'va:t], [ma'rie si 'je je'vade] 'Mary got up (herself)'. In Friulian BE can also be used without the reflexive clitic, in which case the subject clitic, eliminated in the other two constructions because of the presence of [si], reappears: [ma'rie e' je je'vade], literally 'Mary she is got up', cf. Vanelli (1997:284).

The choice of the perfect auxiliary changes when the reflexive clitic functions as an indirect object. In this case the perfect auxiliary is HAVE, cf. the following example from Haiman and Benincà (1992:111):

- (188) Si a limat I dirtj
self has sharpened the teeth
'S/he sharpened his/her teeth.'

Surmeiran, Ladin and the Engadine dialects use only HAVE with reflexives, cf. the following example from Haiman and Benincà (1992:111):

Surmeiran

- (189) ela s o lava
she self has washed:m.sg
'She has washed herself.'

Ampezzan

- (190) Ra s a stabili in America
she self has settled:m.sg in America
'She settled in America.'

Salvi (1997:292) reports that some (especially movement) reflexive verbs in some dialects select the perfect auxiliary BE: Gardenese [s a me'tu per 'ʃtreda], literally 'self has put along the road', i.e. 'he set off', vs. [se n 'iə ʒit], literally 'self hence is gone', i.e. 'he has gone'.

2.7.2. Agreement of the past participle

When the perfect auxiliary is BE, the past participle agrees in gender and number with the subject, cf. the following example from Haiman and Benincà (1992:111):

- (191) Je si e mitude a vai
 she self is put:f.sg to cry
 'She began to cry.'

In the Engadine dialects, where reflexives select the perfect auxiliary HAVE, there is consistent agreement of the participle with the subject (cf. the following examples from Haiman and Benincà 1992:111), just as in the case of intransitives with the perfect auxiliary BE:

Vallader

- (192) ela s- a lavada
 she self has washed:f.sg
 'She has washed herself.'

Puter

- (193) la junfra s- o kōmprɛda yn cape
 the girl self has bought:f.sg a hat
 'The girl has bought herself a hat.'

In the Rhaeto-Romance languages the past participle does not generally agree with the preceding relative pronoun (cf. Haiman and Benincà 1992:224), as in the following examples from Friulian, cited by Haiman and Benincà:

- (194) i sbaʎos k i aj fat
the mistakes:m.pl that I have:1sg made:m.sg
‘the mistakes that I have made’

- (195) lis pwartis k o vin batu:t
the doors:f.pl that we have:1pl hit:m.sg
‘the doors that we have knocked on’

But when the relative pronoun replaces the subject, there is normal agreement of the participle, cf. the following example from Haiman and Benincà (1992:111):

Gardenese

- (196) La structures che ie unides frabichedes
the structures that is come:f.pl built:f.pl
‘the structures that have been built’

2.7.3. Special features of auxiliary selection in Rhaeto-Romance

Auxiliary selection in the Rhaeto-Romance dialects resembles its Italian counterpart, especially in the choice of the perfect auxiliary with reflexive verbs and in the variation of the perfect auxiliary according to person. Haiman and Benincà (1992:111) comment that if the choice of auxiliary with reflexive verbs were determined by the neighboring prestige languages, we might expect that Surselvan, like German, would have generalized HAVE, while Friulian, like Italian, would have generalized BE. However, it looks as if the Rhaeto-Romance dialects adopted their own way of dealing with this problem and provided different solutions in respect to the choice of the perfect auxiliary.

2.8. Romanian³¹

The aim of this section is to investigate whether lexical auxiliary selection, as defined in Chapter 1 and as discussed in various Romance languages in the present

³¹ Romanian in this section actually refers to Daco-Romanian, the Romanian dialect spoken on the territory of present day Romania.

chapter, is present in the grammatical structure of the Romanian language. Romanian does display a special type of auxiliary selection, manifested in the choice of the auxiliary BE for all verbs in certain tenses and moods. It has also sometimes been assumed that Romanian has lexical auxiliary selection. This is because it is possible to combine BE in the present tense with the past participle of some intransitive verbs, particularly change of location and change of state verbs. At first sight, this would look like a genuine proof of lexical auxiliary selection in the Compound Past tense. Nevertheless, a closer study will show that this construction does not eliminate the normal one with the perfect auxiliary HAVE, as in the other Romance lexical auxiliary selection systems. Moreover, the two constructions differ in meaning and cannot be used in the same context or with the same grammatical constructions. With these considerations in mind, I will try to show that BE in such a construction is not used as a perfect auxiliary, but as a copula, and that lexical auxiliary selection is, therefore, not part of the Romanian grammar.

The structure of this section is as follows. The main characteristics of the Romanian verbal system will be outlined, followed by a short description of Romanian auxiliaries and auxiliary constructions, special attention being paid to the auxiliary *a fi* 'to be' (where *a* is the infinitive marker. Note that Romanian auxiliaries are always cited in their infinitive form, though they never occur in this long infinitive form). The Romanian Compound Past tense will be presented, and its structure and meaning will be discussed in comparison with other Romance languages. The Romanian structure involving the verb *a fi* in the present tense and the past participle of an intransitive verb will be compared with the similar construction found in a number of Romance languages. It will be shown that this construction is not an instance of lexical auxiliary selection.

2.8.1. The Romanian verbal system

Romanian verbs, like their Latin predecessors, are marked for: **voice** (active, passive, and reflexive), **mood**³² (indicative, subjunctive, conditional, imperative, presumptive, infinitive, participle, gerund, and supine), **tense** (present, past, future), **person** (first, second, and third), **number** (singular and plural).

³² In traditional Romanian grammar terminology, the infinitive, the participle, the gerund and the supine are considered **non-personal** (i.e. do not have personal forms) and **non-predicative** (i.e. cannot function as predicate) moods, as opposed to the indicative, the subjunctive, the conditional, the imperative, and the presumptive, which are **personal** and **predicative** moods.

Like Italian, Romanian, continues the Latin way of indicating person and number by the verbal form (*dorm* 'I sleep'), and not by the personal pronoun preceding the verb (cf. Fr. *je dors*). The subject personal pronoun generally accompanies the verb only if it is stressed or put in opposition:

- (197) **Eu** scriu, dar **tu** nu scrii.
 I write:1sg but you sg. not write:2sg
 'I am writing, but you are not writing.'

However, in the case of the Perfect Subjunctive, where the same form is used with all persons and numbers (see Table 2.8 below), it is compulsory to use a pronoun to identify the subject of the subordinate clause when it is different from the subject of the matrix clause. When the subject of the main clause is identical to the one of the verb in the Perfect Subjunctive, there is no need for the use of the pronoun:

- (198) Nu cred (ca eu) să fi citit cartea.
 not believe:1sg (that I) *să* be read:part the book
 'I do not think I have read the book.'

- (199) Nu crezi să fi citit cartea.
 not believe:2sg *să* be read:part the book
 'You do not think you have read the book.'

When the subject of the main clause is different from that of the verb in the Perfect Subjunctive, the latter has to be overtly expressed. Please note the position of the subject pronoun before the subjunctive marker *să* and the use of conjunction *ca*:

- (200) Nu cred ca el să fi citit cartea.
 not believe:1sg that he *să* be read:part the book
 'I do not think he have read the book.'

Just like the other Romance languages, Romanian exhibits the synthetic/analytic dichotomy in the verbal system. However, due to a large number

of factors, including non-Romance ones, Romanian moods and tenses generally have a different structure from their counterparts in the other Romance languages (see the table of Romanian moods and tenses below). Thus, the following forms in the active voice are **synthetic**: present indicative, imperfect indicative, simple perfect indicative, pluperfect indicative, present subjunctive, imperative, present infinitive, gerund, participle and supine, and the following are **analytic**: compound past indicative, future and anterior future indicative, perfect subjunctive, present and perfect conditional, present and perfect presumptive, and perfect infinitive.

There are three voices in Romanian: active, passive, and reflexive. The following table exemplifies the formation of Romanian verbal forms in the active voice. The passive voice is formed with the auxiliary *a fi* and a past participle (e.g. *el este felicitat* ‘he is congratulated’), while the reflexive voice differs from its active counterpart by the presence of a reflexive clitic in the Accusative (e.g. *el se gîndește* ‘he is thinking’) or Dative (e.g. *el își amintește* ‘he remembers’).

Table 2.2 below illustrates the structure of finite and non-finite forms of Romanian verbs in the active voice. Note the auxiliary verbs used: *a avea* ‘to have’, *a vrea* ‘to want’, and *a fi* ‘to be’ (I will cite all verbs with the infinitive marker *a*). Full paradigms are to be found in section 2.8.2. *Să* (< Latin *si*) is the subjunctive marker and its use is obligatory.

Table 2.2

Romanian Moods, Tenses, and Non-finite forms – The Active Voice

| | | | |
|---------------------------|-----------------------------|---|---|
| Indicative | 1. Present | | <i>citesc</i> ‘I read’ |
| | 2. Imperfect | | <i>citeam</i> ‘I was reading’ |
| | 3. Simple Perfect | | <i>citii</i> ‘I read’ |
| | 4. Compound Past | a avea (~present) ³³ + Part | <i>am citit</i> ‘I have read’ |
| | 5. Pluperfect ³⁴ | | <i>citisem</i> ‘I had read’ |
| | 6. Future | a vrea + infinitive | <i>voi citi</i> ‘I shall read’ |
| | 7. Anterior Future | a fi (future) + Part | <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ |
| Subjunctive | 1. Present | <i>să</i> + ~present | <i>să citesc</i> ‘that I read’ |
| | 2. Perfect | <i>să</i> + a fi (infinitive) + Part | <i>să fi citit</i> ‘that I have read’ |
| Conditional -optative | 1. Present | a avea (~present) + Inf | <i>aş citi</i> ‘I would read’ |
| | 2. Perfect | a fi (present Cond) + Part | <i>aş fi citit</i> ‘I would have read’ |
| Imperative | | | <i>citeşte!</i> ‘read!’ |
| Presumptive ³⁵ | 1. Present | a fi (future) + gerund | <i>voi fi citind</i> ‘I shall be reading’ |
| | | a fi (subjunctive) + gerund | <i>să fi citind</i> ‘that I be reading’ |
| | | a fi (conditional) + gerund | <i>aş fi citind</i> ‘I would be reading’ |
| | 2. Perfect | a fi (future) + Part | <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ |
| | | a fi (subjunctive) + Part | <i>să fi citit</i> ‘that I had read’ |
| | | a fi (conditional) + Part | <i>aş fi citit</i> ‘I would have read’ |
| Infinitive | 1. Present | | <i>a citi</i> ‘to read’ |
| | 2. Perfect | a fi (infinitive) + Part | <i>a fi citit</i> ‘to have read’ |
| Gerund | | | <i>citind</i> ‘reading’ |
| Participle | | | <i>citit</i> ‘read’ |
| Supine | | preposition + Part | <i>de citit</i> ‘for reading’ |

³³ (~present) indicates forms almost identical to those found in the present tense. The difference appears mainly in the third person singular and plural, e.g. *el are* ‘he has’ (present) – *el a avut* ‘he has had’ (compound past).

³⁴ In Aromanian and Megleno-Romanian the pluperfect follows the Western Romance pattern: it is formed with the auxiliary HAVE in the imperfect plus the past participle.

³⁵ The presumptive mood (*modul prezumptiv*) presents an action as presupposed or uncertain. It is the mood generally used to express doubt. Not all Romanian linguists recognize the existence of this mood as its forms are borrowed from other moods.

A glance over the table above will reveal major difference from the common Romance pattern, especially with regards to auxiliaries. Compare for instance Rom. *voi citi* ‘I will read’ (auxiliary *a vrea* ‘to want’) with Fr. *je lirai* ‘I will read’ (incorporated auxiliary *avoir* ‘to have’). Also Rom. *a fi citit* ‘to have read’ and *a fi plecat* ‘to have gone’ (with the auxiliary *a fi* for all verbs) with Fr. *avoir lu* ‘to have read’ and *être parti* ‘to have gone’ (lexical auxiliary selection). The use of the different auxiliaries is explained in the following section.

2.8.2. Romanian auxiliaries and auxiliary constructions

The number of analytic verbal constructions in Romanian is relatively large: compound past, future and anterior future, perfect subjunctive, present and perfect conditional, present and perfect presumptive, perfect infinitive (see Table 2.2) and the passive voice.

Romanian auxiliary verbs share a number of peculiar characteristics, some of which set them aside from other Romance counterparts. In particular, some auxiliary verbs have short forms. Compare for instance the forms of the auxiliary *a avea* in the structure of the Compound Past and the Conditional in the third person singular and first and second persons plural with those of the lexical verb *a avea*:

Table 2.3

| Lexical verb <i>a avea</i> | Auxiliary <i>a avea</i> in the Compound Past | Auxiliary <i>a avea</i> in the Conditional |
|---|--|--|
| <i>am o carte</i> ‘I have a book’ | <i>am citit o carte</i> ‘I have read a book’ | <i>aş citi o carte</i> ‘I would read a book’ |
| <i>ai o carte</i> ‘you have a book’ | <i>ai citit o carte</i> ‘you have read a book’ | <i>ai citi o carte</i> ‘you would read a book’ |
| <i>are o carte</i> ‘s/he has a book’ | <i>a citit o carte</i> ‘s/he has read a book’ | <i>ar citi o carte</i> ‘s/he would read a book’ |
| <i>avem o carte</i> ‘we have a book’ | <i>am citit o carte</i> ‘we have read a book’ | <i>am citi o carte</i> ‘we would read a book’ |
| <i>aveţi o carte</i> ‘you have a book’ | <i>aţi citit o carte</i> ‘you have read a book’ | <i>aţi citi o carte</i> ‘you would read a book’ |
| <i>au o carte</i> ‘they have a book’ | <i>au citit o carte</i> ‘they have read a book’ | <i>ar citi o carte</i> ‘they would read a book’ |

Compare the French verb *avoir* ‘to have’, which can be used both as auxiliary and as lexical verb without any difference in forms.

Table 2.4

| Lexical verb <i>avoir</i> | Auxiliary <i>avoir</i> |
|--------------------------------------|--|
| <i>j'ai un livre</i> 'I have a book' | <i>j'ai lu un livre</i> 'I have read a book' |
| <i>tu as un livre</i> | <i>tu as lu un livre</i> |
| <i>il/elle a un livre</i> | <i>il/elle a lu un livre</i> |
| <i>nous avons un livre</i> | <i>nous avons lu un livre</i> |
| <i>vous avez un livre</i> | <i>vous avez lu un livre</i> |
| <i>ils/elles ont un livre</i> | <i>ils/elles ont lu un livre</i> |

In Romanian, analytic verbal structures usually reject the intrusion of other elements between their components.³⁶

(201) * Am întotdeauna crezut că am dreptate.
 have:1sg always thought that have:1sg right

but

Am crezut întotdeauna că am dreptate.

or

Întotdeauna am crezut că am dreptate.
'I have always thought I was right.'

(202) * Nu pot să bine citesc.
 not can:1sg să well read:1sg.Subj

but

Nu pot să citesc bine.
'I cannot read well.'

(203) * Aş repede fi venit la tine.
 aux:1sg quickly be come:part to you:sg

or

* Aş fi repede venit la tine.
 aux:1sg be quickly come:part to you:sg

but

³⁶ Based on the idea that in Romanian the auxiliary and the lexical verb form a unit which cannot be separated by other elements, Monachesi (1999) argues in favor of a monoclausal auxiliary structure configuration, against the biclausal one proposed in Dobrovie-Sorin (1994).

Aş fi venit repede la tine.

‘I would have quickly come to you.’

There is only a limited set of adverbs (*mai* ‘again’, *şi* ‘already’, *cam* ‘a little’, *prea* ‘too much’, and *tot* ‘still’) that can appear between the auxiliary and the other element:

- (204) *Aş mai citi ceva în seara asta.*
 aux:1sg again read:pres.cond something in evening this:f
 ‘I would read some more tonight.’

When the auxiliary is in a compound tense itself, the adverb appears between the elements of the first auxiliary structure:

- (205) *Aş mai fi citit ceva în seara asta.*
 aux:1sg again be read:part something in evening this:f
 ‘I would have read some more tonight.’

See also examples (44) – (46) in section 2.1.3 above.

The passive voice does not show this restriction:

- (206) *El este întotdeauna lădat de colegii săi*
 he is always praised:m by colleagues his:m.pl
 ‘He is always praised by his colleagues.’

cf. Fr. *Il est toujours loué par ses collègues.*

Three auxiliary verbs can be found in the structure of Romanian analytic moods and tenses: *a avea* ‘to have’, *a vrea* ‘to want’, and *a fi* ‘to be’.

The auxiliary *a avea* ‘to have’ is used, for all voices and all classes of verbs, in the structure of the Compound Past and of a colloquial future form. In addition, the auxiliary in the structure of the Conditional mood is historically related to *a avea*. The following table lists the forms of the verb *a citi* ‘to read’ in the Compound Past, Colloquial Future and Present Conditional.

Table 2.5: Tenses with the auxiliary *a avea*

| Compound Past (aux + participle) | Colloquial Future (aux + Subjunctive) | Present Conditional (aux + Infinitve) |
|-------------------------------------|--|--|
| <i>am citit</i> ‘I have read’ | <i>am să citesc</i> ‘I shall read’ | <i>aș citi</i> ‘I would read’ |
| <i>ai citit</i> ‘you have read’ | <i>ai să citești</i> ‘you will read’ | <i>ai citi</i> ‘you would read’ |
| <i>a citit</i> ‘s/he has read’ | <i>are să citească</i> ‘s/he will read’ | <i>ar citi</i> ‘s/he would read’ |
| <i>am citit</i> ‘we have read’ | <i>avem să citim</i> ‘we shall read’ | <i>am citi</i> ‘we would read’ |
| <i>ați citit</i> ‘you have read’ | <i>aveți să citiți</i> ‘you will read’ | <i>ați citi</i> ‘you would read’ |
| <i>au citit</i> ‘they have read’ | <i>au să citească</i> ‘they will read’ | <i>ar citi</i> ‘they would read’ |

The auxiliary *a vrea* (< Lat. *velle*) appears, for all voices and verbs, in the structure of the future indicative, the anterior future indicative, and the present and perfect presumptive based on the future. The following table lists the forms of the verb *a citi* ‘to read’ in the tenses which are made up of the auxiliary *a vrea* ‘to want’.

Table 2.6: Tenses with the auxiliary *a vrea*

| Future (aux + infinitive) | Anterior future (aux in the Future + Participle) | Present Presumptive (aux in the Future + Gerund) | Perfect Presumptive (aux in the Future + Participle) |
|-------------------------------------|---|---|---|
| <i>voi citi</i> ‘I shall read’ | <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ | <i>voi fi citind</i> ‘I shall be reading’ | <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ |
| <i>vei citi</i> ‘you will read’ | <i>vei fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>vei fi citind</i> ‘you will be reading’ | <i>vei fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ |
| <i>va citi</i> ‘s/he will read’ | <i>va fi citit</i> ‘s/he will have read’ | <i>va fi citind</i> ‘s/he will be reading’ | <i>va fi citit</i> ‘s/he will have read’ |
| <i>vom citi</i> ‘we shall read’ | <i>vom fi citit</i> ‘we shall have read’ | <i>vom fi citind</i> ‘we shall be reading’ | <i>vom fi citit</i> ‘we shall have read’ |
| <i>veți citi</i> ‘you will read’ | <i>veți fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>veți fi citind</i> ‘you will be reading’ | <i>veți fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ |
| <i>vor citi</i> ‘they will read’ | <i>vor fi citit</i> ‘they will have read’ | <i>vor fi citind</i> ‘they will be reading’ | <i>vor fi citit</i> ‘they will have read’ |

The verb *a fi*, which incorporates many forms deriving from Latin *esse*, is highly irregular, as is typical with BE verb in Indo-European languages. The irregular forms survived due to the frequent use of this verb as auxiliary, copula, and existential verb.

The auxiliary *a fi* ‘to be’ is used in the structure of all Romanian voices. As in the other Romance languages, *a fi* is the auxiliary of the passive voice:

- (207)

Cartea este citită de copil.
the book is read f.sg by child
‘The book is read by the child.’

Present
- (208)

Cartea a fost citită de copil.
the book has been read f.sg by child
‘The book was read by the child.’

Compound Past

Mention should be made that the passive auxiliary *a fi* has the same forms as the copular verb *a fi*.

Table 2.7

| Tense and Mood | Copular <i>a fi</i> | Passive auxiliary <i>a fi</i> |
|---------------------|--|---|
| Present Indicative | <i>sînt vesel</i> ‘I am happy’ | <i>sînt lăudat</i> ‘I am praised’ |
| Compound Past | <i>am fost vesel</i> ‘I was happy’ | <i>am fost lăudat</i> ‘I was praised’ |
| Imperfect | <i>eram vesel</i> ‘I was being happy’ | <i>eram lăudat</i> ‘I was being praised’ |
| Future | <i>voi fi vesel</i> ‘I shall be happy’ | <i>voi fi lăudat</i> ‘I shall be praised’ |
| Present Conditional | <i>aş fi vesel</i> ‘I would be happy’ | <i>aş fi lăudat</i> ‘I would be praised’ |

Compare also the uses of the passive auxiliary and of the copula in other Romance languages:

| | | | |
|------|-------------------------|-----|-------------------------|
| Rom. | Este trezit. | Vs. | Este treaz. |
| Fr. | Il est réveillé. | Vs. | Il est réveillé. |
| Sp. | Es despertado. | Vs. | Està despierto. |
| | ‘He is (being) awoken.’ | | ‘He is awake.’ |

In the active and the reflexive voices, the auxiliary *a fi* appears in the structure of the following moods and tenses: indicative anterior future, perfect subjunctive, perfect conditional-optative, present presumptive, perfect presumptive, and perfect infinitive. Mention should be made that *a fi* is the only auxiliary in these tenses, i.e. all verbs take *a fi* in these tenses. The auxiliary *a fi* is generally followed by a participle (a gerund in the present presumptive) which always takes the masculine singular form and which is always invariable. Compare Rom. *ea ar fi plecat* (see Table 2.8. below) with French *elle serait partie* ‘she would have left’.

The following table lists the forms of the verb *a citi* ‘to read’ in the tenses which are made up of the auxiliary *a fi* ‘to be’.

Table 2.8: Tenses with the auxiliary *a fi*

| Anterior Future (aux in the Future+ Participle) | Perfect Subjunctive (aux in the Subjunctive + Participle) | Perfect Conditional (aux in the Conditional + Participle) |
|--|---|---|
| <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ | <i>eu să fi citit</i> ‘that I have read’ | <i>aş fi citit</i> ‘I would have read’ |
| <i>vei fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>tu să fi citit</i> ‘that you have read’ | <i>ai fi citit</i> ‘you would have read’ |
| <i>va fi citit</i> ‘s/he will have read’ | <i>el/ea să fi citit</i> ‘that s/he has read’ | <i>ar fi citit</i> ‘s/he would have read’ |
| <i>vom fi citit</i> ‘we shall have read’ | <i>noi să fi citit</i> ‘that we have read’ | <i>am fi citit</i> ‘we would have read’ |
| <i>veţi fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>voi să fi citit</i> ‘that you have read’ | <i>aţi fi citit</i> ‘you would have read’ |
| <i>vor fi citit</i> ‘they will have read’ | <i>ei/ele să fi citit</i> ‘that they have read’ | <i>ar fi citit</i> ‘they would have read’ |

| Presumptive | | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|--|---|
| Present | | | Perfect | | |
| Aux in the Future + Gerund | Aux in the Subjunctive + Gerund | Aux in the Conditional + Gerund | Aux in the Future + Participle | Aux in the Subjunctive + Participle | Aux in the Conditional + Participle |
| <i>voi fi citind</i> ‘I shall be reading’ | <i>eu să fi citind</i> ‘that I be reading’ | <i>aş fi citind</i> ‘I would be reading’ | <i>voi fi citit</i> ‘I shall have read’ | <i>eu să fi citit</i> ‘that I had read’ | <i>aş fi citit</i> ‘I would have read’ |
| <i>vei fi citind</i> ‘you will be reading’ | <i>tu să fi citind</i> ‘that you be reading’ | <i>ai fi citind</i> ‘you would be reading’ | <i>vei fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>tu să fi citit</i> ‘that you had read’ | <i>ai fi citit</i> ‘you would have read’ |
| <i>va fi citind</i> ‘s/he will be reading’ | <i>el/ea să fi citind</i> ‘that s/he be reading’ | <i>ar fi citind</i> ‘s/he would be reading’ | <i>va fi citit</i> ‘s/he will have read’ | <i>el/ea să fi citit</i> ‘that s/he had read’ | <i>ar fi citit</i> ‘s/he would have read’ |
| <i>vom fi citind</i> ‘we shall be reading’ | <i>noi să fi citind</i> ‘that we be reading’ | <i>am fi citind</i> ‘we would be reading’ | <i>vom fi citit</i> ‘we shall have read’ | <i>noi să fi citit</i> ‘that we had read’ | <i>am fi citit</i> ‘we would have read’ |
| <i>veţi fi citind</i> ‘you will be reading’ | <i>voi să fi citind</i> ‘that you be reading’ | <i>aţi fi citind</i> ‘you would be reading’ | <i>veţi fi citit</i> ‘you will have read’ | <i>voi să fi citit</i> ‘that you had read’ | <i>aţi fi citit</i> ‘you would have read’ |
| <i>vor fi citind</i> ‘they will be reading’ | <i>ei/ele să fi citind</i> ‘that they be reading’ | <i>ar fi citind</i> ‘they would be reading’ | <i>vor fi citit</i> ‘they will have read’ | <i>ei/ele să fi citit</i> ‘that they had read’ | <i>ar fi citit</i> ‘they would have read’ |

It is important to note that the auxiliary always appears in its short infinitive form *fi* in all moods and tenses, persons and numbers. In the Anterior Future and Perfect Conditional (and the Presumptive forms based on these tenses) the auxiliary *a fi* appears itself in a compound tense, the auxiliaries *a vrea* and *a avea*, respectively, indicating person, number, tense and mood. The Perfect Subjunctive

(and the Presumptive based on the Subjunctive) is made up of the subjunctive marker *să* (which is compulsory), the infinitive of *a fi* and a participle. In this case, the subject must be overtly expressed when not coreferential with the subject of the matrix clause (see also the examples in section 2.8.1 above):

- (209) Vreau ca **el/ cineva** /George *să fi citit* cartea.
want:1sg that he/someone/George *să* be read:part the book
'I want him/someone/George to have read the book.'

Mention should be made that some nonstandard variants also use the auxiliary *a fi* with all verbs, irrespective of their transitivity, in a popular form of pluperfect: *am fost vorbit* 'I had talked', literally 'have been talked'. This form is considered incorrect in Standard Romanian, which uses synthetic forms in the pluperfect: *vorbisem* 'I had talked'.

It is important to note that while *a fi* is used as an auxiliary in the active and reflexive voices, this type of auxiliary selection is different from the lexical selection found in the other Romance languages. In Romanian BE is the only auxiliary for all verbs in the six tenses mentioned above. Thus, the structure of the Romanian anterior future (auxiliary BE in the future tense plus an invariable participle), for instance, differs from the French and Italian structure of the anterior future (HAVE/BE in the future tense plus participle). All Romanian verbs, irrespective of their semantics or transitive status, take BE as the auxiliary of the anterior future (and all the other compound tenses), whereas in French and Italian verbs select either HAVE or BE according to different factors and display participial agreement when BE is selected. In addition, the participle never agrees in gender and number with the subject and the auxiliary always appears in its short infinitive form. Compare:

Table 2.9

| | Romanian | French | English |
|---------------------|-----------------------------|---------------------------------|---------------------|
| Anterior Future | <i>voi fi plecat</i> | <i>je serai parti</i> | 'I shall have read' |
| Perfect Subjunctive | <i>să fi plecat</i> | <i>que je sois parti</i> | 'that I have read' |
| Perfect Conditional | <i>aș fi plecat</i> | <i>je serais parti</i> | 'I would have read' |

The most common explanation for the use of BE as auxiliary in Romanian is of Slavic influence (cf. Manoliu 1959). In the Slavic languages the perfect tenses are formed with the auxiliary BE plus the so-called *l*-participle. Macedonian is the only Slavic language that has an additional option of forming perfect tenses with HAVE as auxiliary. The situation in Romanian, however, is not identical to the Slavic one, since BE is not used in all tenses. The Romanian verb system reflects a unique mixture of both Romance and Slavic influences.

2.8.3. The Romanian Compound Past

According to *Gramatica limbii române* (1966:268), **all** Romanian verbs, transitive, intransitive or reflexive, form the Compound Past with the auxiliary *a avea* ‘to have’ and the participle of the main verb: *eu am venit* ‘I have come’. There is no agreement between the participle and the subject, the participle being always used in its masculine singular form.

Sandfeld (1930:115) reports that in the Aromanian Compound Past, the past participle accompanying the auxiliary HAVE has the feminine ending *-ă*: *am scrisă* ‘I have written’ (Romanian *am scris*), *am vinită* ‘I have come’ (Romanian *am venit*). Sandfeld claims that this form of the past participle is not a feminine one, the ending being actually the remnant of an ancient Accusative ending. Another possible explanation is Albanian influence:³⁷ the Albanian participle ends in *-ë*, e.g. *kam pasurë* ‘I have had’.

Romanian falls within that category of Romance languages in which the Compound Past is preferred to the preterite, which is little used and which virtually disappeared by 1800 (cf. Togeby 1980:143). In many modern Romance varieties, except certain regional dialects, the compound form has replaced the Simple Past in colloquial speech *as part of a general drift towards analytic constructions* (cf. Posner 1996:136), but standard literary languages still protect the classic distinction. In some varieties of Romanian (such as those spoken in Oltenia, Banat, the Apuseni Mountains and western Muntenia), as well as in Occitan, the meaning of the Simple Past is limited to events that have taken place, i.e. started and finished, on the same day as the act of speech: *fusei la piață* ‘I went to the market’ (and never *am fost*). On the other hand, the Compound Past is used for events that took place long before the

³⁷ Albanian has had a great influence on Aromanian in terms of phonetics, morphology, and syntax.

act of speech: *am fost anul trecut la București* ‘I was in Bucharest last year.’ By and large colloquial speech lost the distinction between an event that took place in the past and one that was completed by the present. For example in Modern Romanian, as well as in Spanish and French, the use of the Compound Past for recent situations is rather wide, so that *eu l-am văzut azi dimineață* ‘I have seen him this morning’ can very well be said in the afternoon.

Sandfeld (1930:105) reports that the southern Aromanian dialects prefer the Simple Past to the Compound past, especially when the simple past has the meaning of a ‘perfectum praesens’: *nu s mârță sor-mea* ‘my sister hasn’t married’ (in Romanian *nu s-a măritat sora mea*). Sandfeld considers this situation is largely due to the influence of the Greek aorist.

Even if the functional meanings of the Compound Past in Romanian resemble those in French and Italian, there are some differences in respect to the behavior of this tense to other grammatical elements and factors. Thus, while French and Italian allow the introduction of all kinds of adverbials between the auxiliary and the past participle, Romanian prohibits any insertion within the Compound Past and within compound tenses in general (cf. also Avram 1994:500). Usually, adverbials determining a verb in the Compound Past are placed after the predicate:

- (210) Mihai a mers dimineață la piață.
Mihai has gone morning to market
‘Mihai went to the market in the morning.’

or

- (211) Mihai a mers la piață dimineață.
Mihai has gone to market morning
‘Mihai went to the market in the morning.’

However, as mentioned above, a very small class of monosyllabic adverbs expressing approximation, duration, iteration, etc. can appear within the structure of the Compound Past between the auxiliary and the participle: *mai* ‘again’, *și* ‘already’, *cam* ‘a little’, *prea* ‘too much’, and *tot* ‘still’.

In addition, no clitic can interfere with the structure of the Compound Past. In the case of verbs in the reflexive voice, the reflexive clitic, either in the Accusative or Dative, are proclitic to the auxiliary:

Chapter 3

Auxiliary Selection in the Romance Languages.

A Diachronic Overview

The purpose of this chapter is to complete the general picture of lexical auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages described in the previous chapter by an overview of the historical evolution of this phenomenon in the Romance languages. I fully believe a comprehensive account of auxiliary selection in synchrony would not be complete without a discussion of its diachronic aspects. This chapter will show that the present day situation of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages is actually the result of historical semantic and syntactic changes which affected this process over the centuries.

The structure of this chapter is as follows. I shall begin by signaling the importance of the diachronic dimension in the analysis of the process of auxiliary selection and by pointing out the fact that this dimension has been often neglected in accounts of auxiliary selection. The present chapter will include the diachronic analysis of auxiliary selection in eight Romance languages presented in the same geographical order used in Chapter 2, i.e. from the West to the East of ROMANIA. These languages are: Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, French, Occitan, Italian, Dalmatian, and Romanian. Even though auxiliary selection in the Modern Rhaeto-Romance dialects and Sardinian offers a very interesting example (see Chapter 2, sections 2.6. and 2.7.), these languages will not be discussed in the present chapter due to the lack of information regarding their historical development in general and the evolution of perfect auxiliaries in particular.

As in the previous chapter, I have tried to take into account as many Romance languages as possible in order to have an accurate representation of the historical evolution of auxiliary selection. For Old Spanish, an analysis of auxiliary selection had already been undertaken by Benzing (1931), reworked by Aranovich (2003) in the framework of unaccusativity. My job in the case of Spanish was therefore very easy. In the case of Portuguese, Catalan, French, Italian, and Romanian, the analyses are mainly based on my readings of old texts and personal

interpretation of the examples of auxiliary selection I have gathered from both traditional and electronic sources.

3.1. Auxiliary selection in diachrony

The review of the literature on auxiliary selection in general and in the Romance languages in particular revealed that little attention, if any, was paid to the historical aspects of this grammatical process. A comprehensive analysis of auxiliary selection implies, besides a thorough understanding of its present-day manifestations, a study of its diachronic evolution, i.e. a ‘unified’ account of auxiliary selection must also account for the different stages of evolution in different languages. Auxiliary selection in the Romance languages has a long and intricate history, frequently ignored in the semantic and syntactic approaches, which tend to offer ‘unified’ accounts of auxiliary selection in several languages and prescribe general rules which would govern this process. The following sets of examples support the idea that such tendencies may not always be justified:

- | | | | |
|-------|--------------------|--|-------------------|
| (255) | Old Spanish: | <i>es llegado</i> | ‘he has arrived’ |
| | Modern Spanish: | <i>ha llegado</i> | ‘he has arrived’ |
| (256) | Old Portuguese: | <i>somos chegados</i> | ‘we have arrived’ |
| | Modern Portuguese: | <i>temos chegado</i> | ‘we have arrived’ |
| (257) | Old French: | <i>ils sont alé</i> and <i>ils ont alé</i> | ‘they have gone’ |
| | Modern French: | <i>ils sont allés</i> | ‘they have gone’ |
| (258) | Medieval Occitan: | <i>ac anat</i> and <i>es anat</i> | ‘he has gone’ |
| | Modern Occitan: | <i>es anat</i> | ‘he has gone’ |

The examples in (255) and (256) refer to the use of different perfect auxiliaries at different stages within the same language. The examples in (257) and (258) refer to variation in respect to the choice of the perfect auxiliary in older stages and grammaticalization of a single auxiliary (with specific categories of verbs) in the present day languages.

Modern French has a very limited number of intransitive verbs taking *être* 'be' as perfect auxiliary. Moreover, there is a predisposition for simplification manifested in the tendency to use the perfect auxiliary *avoir* 'have' with all verbs, in all circumstances (see Chapter 2 for a detailed discussion on this topic). Nevertheless, this inclination has not had consequences comparable to those in Spanish and Portuguese.

To sum up, the history of auxiliary selection in several Romance languages causes problems for some synchronic approaches because they do not account for the facts of all attested stages and because grammaticalization has not always been straightforward in the replacement of BE by HAVE.

A closer look at the considerations mentioned above leads to the following conclusion: the diachronic dimensions of auxiliary selection should not be ignored as the historical development of the process may reveal facts that are undetectable in a synchronic analysis. This chapter contains several diachronic analyses of auxiliary selection in eight Romance languages, aiming at offering a comprehensive picture of the evolution of this process in the family of Romance languages.

It has often been pointed out that the Romance languages have been undergoing a diachronic syntactic change leading to the progressive replacement of the perfect auxiliary BE by HAVE. Although this is indeed a common tendency, it is by no means universal, and the rest of this chapter will investigate the evolution of this tendency in various Romance languages.

3.2. Spanish

In Modern Spanish, HAVE is the only perfect auxiliary, used with transitives, intransitives and reflexives, cf. the following examples from Aranovich (2003):

(259) Los obreros **han trabajado** muy duro.

'The workers have worked very hard'.

(260) El tren **ha llegado** tarde.

'The train has arrived late'.

(261) Lupe **se ha defendido**.

‘Lupe defended himself.’

There is no agreement between the past participle and the subject. However, as Penny (2002:142) has pointed out, the meaning of possession originally inherent in the construction explains the fact that for centuries, well into the period of literary Old Spanish, the participle continued to agree in number and gender with the direct object. Thus, from Vulgar Latin *habeo vaccam comparatam*, Old Spanish inherits *comprada he una vaca* ‘I have bought a cow’. It is believed such agreement gradually ceases and the participle becomes invariable during the thirteenth – fifteenth centuries.

In spite of the modern generalization of *haber* as the only perfect auxiliary, the history of the Spanish language offers plenty of evidence of auxiliary selection. Auxiliary selection was well established in the 13th century Spanish, as the following example cited by Green (1987:265) illustrates:

(262) **Exido es** de Burgos, e Arlançon **a pasado**. (Cid 221)

gone is from Burgos and Arlançon has crossed

‘He left Burgos and crossed the river Arlançon.’

Studies on corpora have shown that in spite of a wide use of the periphrases with *haber*, this auxiliary was pretty much limited to transitive verbs in Old Spanish; intransitives in the compound past tenses were mainly built up with *ser* ‘to be’, cf. the following examples from Aranovich (2003) from the 14th and 16th centuries:

(263) ...aquel omne **era llegado** a tan grand mengua que se sintia dello mucho

(Don Juan Manuel, *El Conde Lucanor*)

‘That man had come to be in such need that he was very upset about it’.

(264) Mil y quinientos **eran** ya **corridos** (Juan de Castellanos, *Elegias de varones ilustres de Indias*)

‘One thousand five hundred had already run.’

Ser first lost its ability to combine with stative verbs like *quedar* ‘to remain’, then with change of state verbs like *fenecer* ‘to die’, and finally with movement (change of location) verbs like *venir* ‘to come’. Recent studies (Aranovich 2003, Pountain 1985) place the end of *ser* as perfect auxiliary in the seventeenth century. The following examples illustrate the use of the perfect auxiliary *ser* with the change of location verb *ir* ‘go’ (cf. Aranovich 2003:3-5):

(265) 13th century

...quando sopo que su hermana **era ida** ...(*Primera crónica general*: 34)

‘When he knew that his sister had left’

(266) 16th century

...aquel señor mío **es ydo** ... (*La Celestina*: 161)

‘That milord has left’.

(267) 17th century

Porque **es ydo** en Romeria (*Mocedades*: I, 2012)

‘Because he went on a pilgrimage.’

The most comprehensive study of split auxiliary selection in Spanish is that of Benzing (1931), who tracks the ability of a large number of verbs to combine with *ser*, until their latest recorded occurrence. Benzing establishes that perfect forms with auxiliary *ser* appear until the first half of the XVII century. Here is a synopsis of Benzing’s findings as organized by Aranovich (2003:4):

Until the 13th century:

exir ‘leave’, *viar* ‘go, walk’, *desviar* ‘change direction’, *quedar* ‘remain’, *rastar* ‘remain’, *fincar* ‘stay’, *cuntir* ‘happen’, *cenar* ‘dine’, *yantar* ‘eat’.

Until the 14th century:

arribar ‘arrive, dock’, *errar* ‘wander’, *transir* ‘go by’, *holgar* ‘rest’.

Until the 15th century:

tornar 'return', *correr* 'run', *descender* 'descend', *acaecer* 'happen', *aparecer* 'appear', *desaparecer* 'disappear', *fallir* 'fail, die', *despertar* 'awaken'.

Until the 16th century:

venir 'come', *llegar* 'arrive', *entrar* 'enter', *salir* 'leave', *huir* 'run away', *escapar* 'escape', *volver* 'return', *subir* 'climb', *caer* 'fall', *caminar* 'walk', *avenir* 'come, happen', *fallecer* 'die', *fenecer* 'die', *acabar* 'finish', *adormir* 'sleep', *adormecer* 'sleep', *amanecer* 'dawn', *anochecer* 'grow dark'.

Until the 17th century:

ir 'go', *pasar* 'move through', *partir* 'depart', *crecer* 'grow', *nacer* 'be born', *mortir* 'die'.

Based on Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995), Aranovich classifies these verbs in (1) verbs of existence and appearance (like *cuntir*, *transir*, *acaecer*, *aparecer*, *desaparecer*, and *acabar*), (2) verbs of manner of motion, like *errar*, *correr*, and *caminar*, (3) verbs of directed motion (like *pasar*, *ir*, and *partir*), and (4) verbs of change of state, like *nacer*, *crecer*, and *morir*. Of these, stative verbs like *quedar*, *fincar*, *rastar*, and *holgar* (included by Aranovich in the first class), which do not suffer any change in state or location, therefore are not affected in any way by the event, were the first to lose their ability to select *ser* (in the 13th and 14th centuries), while verbs of directed motion and verbs of change of state, which suffer a change in their location or state as a consequence of the event and whose subject is, consequently, affected, continue to select *ser* up to the 17th century.

Arguing that auxiliary selection in the history of Spanish is sensitive to the lexical semantics of the predicate, Aranovich (2003:6) has built the following table showing how different semantic classes of intransitive verbs behave in respect to the selection of the perfect auxiliary:

Table 3.1

Semantic verb classes and date of last occurrence with *ser*:

| Verb class | 13 th c. | 14 th c. | 15 th c. | 16 th c. | 17 th c. |
|-----------------------------|--|---------------------------------|---|--|---|
| Appearance & existence | <i>fincar</i> <i>cuntir</i> <i>rastar</i> <i>quedar</i> | <i>holgar</i> <i>transir</i> | <i>aparecer</i> <i>acaecer</i> <i>desaparecer</i> | | |
| Manner of motion | | <i>errar</i> | <i>correr</i> | <i>caminar</i> | |
| Directed change of location | <i>exir</i> <i>viar</i> <i>desviar</i> | <i>arribar</i> | <i>descender</i> <i>tornar</i> | <i>venir</i> <i>llegar</i> <i>caer</i> <i>entrar</i> <i>salir</i> <i>huir</i> <i>escaper</i> <i>volver</i> <i>subir</i> <i>avenir</i> | <i>pasar</i> <i>ir</i> <i>partir</i> |
| Change of state | <i>cenar</i> <i>yantar</i> | | <i>fallir</i> <i>despertar</i> | <i>fallecer</i> <i>finar</i> <i>fenecer</i> <i>dormer</i> <i>adormecer</i> <i>amanecer</i> <i>anochecer</i> <i>acabar</i> | <i>nacer</i> <i>crecer</i> <i>morir</i> |

Aranovich’s conclusion is that the degree of ‘affectedness’ of the subject is a factor in the displacement of *ser* by *haber* as the perfect auxiliary in Old Spanish. At one end of the hierarchy are stative verbs of existence and appearance, existence of state and continuation of a preexisting state verbs in Sorace’s terminology (2000). This is the first class to lose its ability to select *ser*, as these verbs do not suffer any changes in state or location, therefore not affected in any way by the event. At the opposite end of the hierarchy one finds verbs of directed motion (change of location verbs) and verbs of change of state, which are the last ones to lose the use of *ser* as perfect auxiliary. Aranovich argues that the subjects of these verbs are affected since they are in a new location or state as a consequence of the event. In the middle of the hierarchy are verbs of manner of motion like *correr*, and dynamic verbs of existence and appearance like *desaparecer*. The subjects of these verbs also experience changes in state or location but these changes do not affect the subject in the same

way that the changes expressed by verbs of directed motion and change of location do. Aranovich's general conclusion is that the chronology of split auxiliary selection in Spanish falls under the generalization that the more affected the subject, the sooner a verb loses its ability to select the perfect auxiliary *ser*.

The most interesting aspect of the history of auxiliary selection in Spanish, and, at the same time, in many Romance languages, is that not only intransitive verbs have the ability to select their perfect auxiliary. Reflexive verbs also have this choice,⁴¹ as illustrated in the following examples (Aranovich 2003:18, 20):

- (268) En la tienda del buen rey en ella **se había amparado** (Anonymous, *Cantar del cerco de Zamora*, 12th century)

‘He sought refuge in the good king’s tent.’

- (269) Dizien que los de Troya **eran se bien vengados** (Anonymous, *El libro di Alixandre*: 710, 13th century)

‘They say that the Trojans had taken strong revenge.’

Although Benzing (1931) claims that reflexive verbs are found with the perfect auxiliary *ser* up to the 13th century, Aranovich (2003:21) brings further examples showing that this tendency continued up to the 17th century:

- (270) 16th century

y supo que **se era salida** por allí a solazar con sus damas sin caballero alguno (Cristóbal de Villalón, *El Crotalón*)

‘And he found out that she had gone out around there to rejoice with her ladies without any gentleman.’

- (271) 17th century

A no llevarme la espada, ya **os fuerais arrepentidos** (Tirso de Molina, *El vergonzoso en Palacio*: 758)

‘Had you not taken my sword from me, you would have been sorry.’

⁴¹ Cf. also Rhaeto-Romance dialects (see section 2.7. above).

Aranovich (2003) argues that reflexive verbs display the same range of variation in lexical semantics that is found among plain intransitives and that auxiliary selection with reflexives follows the same semantic patterns as with intransitives. Thus, the class of reflexive verbs that resists the takeover by *haber* the longest is that of change of state verbs such as *ahogarse* ‘drown’, *arrepentirse* ‘repent’, *desencasarse* ‘divorce’, and *hacerse* ‘become’, followed closely by verbs of directed motion such as *escaparse* ‘escape’, *irse* ‘go away’, *partirse* ‘leave’, *pasarse* ‘change sides’, and *salirse* ‘get out’. At the other end of the hierarchy is the class of volitional achievement verbs such as *vergarse* ‘avenge’, and the class of verbs of existence and appearance. They select *ser* as perfect auxiliary only up to the 13th century. A particular case is represented by the class of verbs referred to by Levin and Rappaport Hovav (1995) as ‘verbs assuming a position’, such as *levarse* ‘rise, stand up’. These verbs can be found with the perfect auxiliary *ser* until the 15th century.

In order to illustrate the different verb classes and the latest recorded occurrence of the members of these classes with the perfect auxiliary *ser*, Aranovich (2003:22) has built up the following table:

Table 3.2
Reflexive verb class and date of last occurrence with *ser*:

| Verb class | 12 th c. | 13 th c. | 14 th c. | 15 th c. | 16 th c. | 17 th c. |
|------------------------|---------------------|---|---------------------|---------------------|-----------------------------------|--|
| Volitional achievement | | <i>vengarse</i> | | | | |
| Existence & appearance | | <i>demostrarse</i> <i>fallarse</i> (<i>con</i>) <i>provarse</i> <i>quedarse</i> | | | | |
| Assume-position | | <i>alzarse</i> | <i>levantarse</i> | | | |
| Directed motion | <i>escaparse</i> | <i>partirse</i> <i>pasarse</i> | | <i>irse</i> | <i>salirse</i> | |
| Change of state | | | | | <i>ahogarse</i> <i>hacerse</i> | <i>arrepentirse</i> <i>desencasarse</i> |

Old Spanish offers a very interesting and complex case of auxiliary selection within the other Romance languages in their earlier stages. The number of verbs

selecting BE as perfect auxiliary and the semantic classes to which they belong make auxiliary selection in Old Spanish comparable to that of Modern Italian. A higher degree of complexity is reached through the ability of reflexive verbs to select their perfect auxiliary also according to the semantic category they belong to. A comparable situation is to be found only with some Rhaeto-Romance dialects (see section 2.7., Chapter 2), but not to a much smaller extent. In spite of all these types of variation according to the semantics of the verb, Modern Spanish has generalized the use of HAVE as the only perfect auxiliary.

3.3. Portuguese

Modern Portuguese has generalized the use of the perfect auxiliary *ter* 'to hold' with all verbs, transitives, intransitives, and reflexives. The past participle remains invariable, always in the masculine singular form:

(272) eu **tenho** amado
'I have loved'

(273) eles **têm** vindo
'They (m.) have come'.

(274) **tenho**-me acostumado
'I have got used to'

There is also a Compound Past formed with the perfect auxiliary *haver* 'have' and a past participle, but this form is limited to the written language.

In Old Portuguese both structures with the perfect auxiliaries *ter* and *haver* (Old Port. *aver*) involved past participial agreement with the object (cf. Parkinson 1988:162):

(275) eles tinham as azes paradas
they *tener*:pluperfect,3pl their battle-lines made ready:f.pl
'They had their battle-lines made ready'

- (276) huñs arcos que eles aviam derrubados
 some arches that they had:3pl knocked down:m.pl
 ‘Some arches which they had knocked down’

Parkinson (1988:162) also argues that there was a certain semantic difference between the two verbs, *ter* meaning ‘to possess’, *haver* ‘to acquire’, but written documents often show apparently free variation. However, *haver* is replaced by *ter* not only as verb of possession, but also as perfect auxiliary.⁴² The use of *ter* as perfect auxiliary distinguishes Portuguese from the rest of the Romance languages. The formal mechanism of agreement of the participle with its object vanished completely after a period of free variation between *ter* and *haver* in the classical literary language (cf. Camara 1972). At the same time, the construction, originally restricted only to transitives, was also extended to intransitive verbs: e.g. *tenho ido* ‘I have gone’.

Beside *haver* and *ter*, Old Portuguese used *ser* ‘to be’ to form analytic past tenses with a small number of intransitive verbs such as *chegar* ‘to arrive’ and *partir* ‘to depart’, but it seems that this construction disappeared earlier than in the rest of Western Romance and left no traces. For Classical Portuguese (up to the 15th century), Camara (1972:145) mentions the following examples of verbs used in the Compound Past (277) and the Pluperfect (278):

- (277) somos chegados
 ‘we have arrived’

- (278) eram partidos
 ‘they had left’.

Mentions of the classical type of auxiliary selection between HAVE and BE in the earlier stages of Portuguese are very rare, linguists focusing more on the emergence and development of *ter* as the universal perfect auxiliary. My analysis of *Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344* (14th century), vol. IV, critical edition of the Portuguese text by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, Lisboa 1990,

⁴² Parkinson (1988:150) reports that even the existential *há* ‘there is’ has been taken over by *tem* in some forms of Brazilian Portuguese.

could not bring any clear examples of auxiliary selection in Medieval Portuguese. The text can be found at http://www.orbilat.com/Modern_Romance/Ibero-Romance/Portuguese/Texts/Portuguese-Texts-Cronica_Geral.html.

Given the fact that examples with *ser* as perfect auxiliary are still found in the 15th century (examples (277) – (278) above), it is probably plausible to claim that Portuguese lost the use of the perfect auxiliary BE at the same time as Spanish. These issues need to be further investigated.

3.4. Catalan

Harris (1988:6) argues that a major division appeared within the Iberian Peninsula as early as the ninth century, separating Catalan, on the one hand (which had close affinities with Occitan),⁴³ and the other dialects of Spain and Portugal, generally known as Hispano-Romance. This distinction is also justified by the evolution of auxiliary selection in the two branches, with some Modern Catalan dialects still selecting BE as perfect auxiliary.

The history of the Catalan language shows plenty of examples of auxiliary selection, but it is not clear at what point the selection of BE was annihilated (at least in the standard variety).

According to Moll (1952:332), all transitive verbs selected HAVE as perfect auxiliary in Old Catalan. Badia Margarit (1962:293) reports that Old Catalan made use of the perfect auxiliary *ésser* ‘be’ with many intransitive verbs: change of location verbs such as *anar* ‘go’, *venir* ‘come’, *arribar* ‘arrive’, change of state verbs such as *entrar* ‘enter’, *eixir* ‘exit’, *sortir* ‘exit’, *passar* ‘pass’, *fugir* ‘run’, *caure* ‘fall’, *tornar* ‘turn’, *néixer* ‘be born’, *morir* ‘die’, *esdevenir* ‘become’, *cessar* ‘stop’, and continuation of a preexisting state verbs such as *romandre* ‘remain’ and *restar* ‘stay’. The rule of the agreement of the past participle applies in all cases. Moll (1952:332) brings the following examples:

- (279) Quan Tays **fo entrada** en la casa
‘when Tays had entered the house’

⁴³ Harris also talks about the possibility of the ‘Proto-Occitan-Catalan’ concept.

- (280) lo ninet **és tornat** a casa
 ‘the child has come back home’

- (281) Los cònsols **són venguts** aquí.
 ‘The consuls have come here.’

Reflexive verbs in Old Catalan also selected *ésser* as perfect auxiliary, cf. the following examples from Moll (1952:331). Mention should be made that the studies citing the phenomenon of auxiliary selection in earlier stages of Catalan bring examples from all compound tenses involving the use of the auxiliaries HAVE and BE, not only the Compound Past:

- | | |
|---|------------------|
| (282) La barca s’era allunyada . ‘The boat had left the shore.’ | Pluperfect |
| (283) Los quals no s’eren cremates . ‘The curdling had not burnt.’ | Pluperfect |
| (284) Jo em só retut per seu. ‘I have come back by myself.’ | Compound Past |
| (285) Après que Cato se fou gitat sobre la sua espasa ‘After C. had thrown himself on his sword’ | Anterior Perfect |
| (286) Quan se serien concordats e avenguts en una fe. ‘When they had reached an agreement and agreed upon the same faith’ | Perfect Future |

Moll (1952:332) mentions the abnormal use of *ésser* as perfect auxiliary with non-reflexive transitive verbs in some dialects of Old Catalan and brings the following examples:

- (287) No **sou vist** la processó.
 ‘You (pl.) have not seen the procession.’

(288) **Só posat** les claus damunt la taula.

‘I have put the keys on the table.’

Badia Margarit (1962) signals the free variation between the perfect auxiliaries *haver* and *ésser* with the verb *ésser*. Moll (1952:332) remarks on the use of the perfect auxiliary *ésser* with the verb *estar* ‘be’, as in the following example:

(289) Que la fortuna vos **sia estada** adversa

‘that fortune was against you’

A very interesting aspect mentioned by Badia Margarit (1962:293) is the use of the perfect auxiliary *ser* ‘be’ in certain medieval Catalan dialects, particularly those around the town of Gerona (Spain). It looks as if the use of this perfect auxiliary varied according to person and that *ser* was favored with the first person singular not only with intransitive verbs (*sóc anat* ‘I have gone’, *sóc vingut* ‘I have come’), but also with transitives: *sóc menjat* ‘I have eaten’, *sóc begut* ‘I have drunk’, *sóc mort* ‘I have killed’.

Moll (1952:332) mentions the use of the perfect auxiliary *ésser* with the verbs *poder* ‘can’, *saber* ‘know’, *voler* ‘want’, and *haver de* ‘have to’ when followed by reflexive verbs or intransitives which choose *ésser* as perfect auxiliary. This choice of the perfect auxiliary resembles the situation in Modern Italian, with modal verbs selecting the perfect auxiliary of the following infinitive:

(290) No **era pogut** entrar.

‘He had not been able to enter.’

(291) **Són haguts** d’anar.

‘They had to go.’

In conclusion, auxiliary selection was a lively phenomenon in the history of the Catalan language, its degree of complexity being comparable to that of Modern French, if one takes into consideration the semantics of the verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, and even to that of Italian, in respect to the selection of the perfect auxiliary with some modal verbs.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the most frequently used structure to express the Compound Past in Modern Catalan is the one formed of the auxiliary *anar* and the infinitive of the main verb. The relationship between the development of this construction and the evolution of auxiliary selection in the history of Catalan would be a very interesting research topic.

3.5. French

Modern French has been one of the most studied Romance languages in respect to auxiliary selection even though this phenomenon does not have in French the amplitude it experiences in Sardinian or Italian, for example. Auxiliary selection in French is manifested through a limited number (around forty) of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary. Apart from intransitives, all reflexives follow the same pattern in the choice of the perfect auxiliary. The rules are very strict, in accordance with the general character of French grammar. But there is considerable variation within French dialects and this variation also characterized the earlier stages of the language.

Gougenheim (1974:119) reports that in the French of the 16th century the choice between *avoir* 'to have' and *être* 'to be' was more open than nowadays, with *avoir* pointing to the movement itself (*le mouvement considéré en lui-même*) and *être* pointing to the achievement of the movement (*le mouvement considéré dans son achèvement*). At that time *entrer* 'to enter' took *avoir*, while *voler* 'to fly', *couler* 'to flow', *marcher* 'to march', *courir* 'to run', *périr* 'to perish', *broncher* 'to fall' took *être* as perfect auxiliary.

Meyer-Lübke (1974:329) claims that the number of intransitives selecting *être* as perfect auxiliary diminished during the 15th-16th centuries and it is clear that the number of *être* selecting verbs gradually diminished in time, up to the present-day tendency to eliminate BE and generalize the use of HAVE as the only perfect auxiliary.

My analysis of auxiliary selection in Old and Middle French is mainly based on the "Textes de Français Ancien" (TFA) database, established by the Laboratoire de Français Ancien (LFA, University of Ottawa), in collaboration with the ARTFL Project (University of Chicago). The original collection was composed of texts from the 12th and 13th centuries, digitized for the preparation of a lemmatized database of

Old French (project in collaboration with the Institut National de la Langue Française). Middle French texts (14th and 15th centuries) have been added to this collection subsequently. In the analysis of this database I have followed Sorace's Hierarchy of Auxiliary Selection (2000) to establish what semantic verbal classes had the ability to select the perfect auxiliary *être* in different stages of the French language, and to detect the differences between Old and Middle French, on the one hand, and Modern French on the other in terms of auxiliary selection.

The class of change of location verbs, which are most likely to choose the perfect auxiliary BE, was very well represented throughout the history of French. The following examples illustrate the use of the verb *arriver* 'arrive' in the Compound Past, Pluperfect and Future Perfect with the perfect auxiliary *être*:

12th century

- (292) Li mesagier sunt **arrive** (R. de Boron, *Le Roman de l'Estoire dou Graal*, 1199, page 44 | paragraph | (h1))

'the messengers have arrived'

- (293) quant il furent **arrivé** (idem, page 43 | paragraph | (h1))

'when they had arrived'

13th century

- (294) Et quant il furent ilec **arrive** (Anonymous, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, 1225, page 200 | paragraph | (h1))

'and when they had arrived there'

- (295) quant il furent **arrivé** (Anonymous, *La Mort le roi Artu*, 1230, page 219 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

'when they had arrived'

14th century

- (296) en Escosse sui **arrivé** (Anonymous, *Miracle de la fille du roy de Hongrie*, 1371, page 68 | paragraph | (h1))

'I have arrived in Scotland'

- (297) Quant sommes ici **arrive** (Anonymous, *Miracle de saint Alexis*, 1382, page 331 | paragraph | (h1))
'when we have arrived here'

Another change of location verb is *aller* 'go', but this verb does not generally follow the same pattern in selecting the perfect auxiliary *être*. The following examples record a continuous oscillation between the two perfect auxiliaries *avoir* and *être* with the verb *aller*:

12th century

- (298) Li chevalier en sont **alé** (Anonymous, *Roman de Thèbes*, 1150, page 108 | paragraph | (h1))
'the knight has gone there'
- (299) Li reis ala ariere, il sunt avant **alé** (Guernes de Point-Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de saint Thomas Becket*, 1172-1174, page 138 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
'the kings went backward, they have gone onward'
- (300) Trois jours avoient bien **alé** (Anonymous, *Roman de Thèbes*, 1150, page 128 | paragraph | (h1))
'they had walked for three days'
- (301) car par tout ont **alé** (Alexandre de Paris, *Roman d'Alexandre*, 1180, page 167 | paragraph | (h1))
'as they have been everywhere'

13th century

- (302) Toutes les gens de Blaivies i sont **alé** (Anonymous, *Ami et Amile*, 1200, page 78 | paragraph | (h1))
'all the people from Blaivies went there'
- (303) Puis sont **alé** joer as tables (Jean Renart, *Le Roman de la Rose ou de Guillaume de Dole*, 1228, page 16 | paragraph | (h1))
'then they went to play backgammon'

- (304) Sire, vos avez assez **alé** (Anonymous, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, 1225, page 25 | paragraph | (h1))
'Sir, you have walked enough'

- (305) a tant **alé** qu' il encontra Lancelot (Anonymous. *La Mort le roi Artu*, 1230, page 15 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
'he went till he met Lancelot'

14th century

- (306) Tout est **alé** (Anonymus, *Bestiaire marial*, 1333, page 261 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
'everything has gone'

- (307) Ou est elle **allée**? (Anonymous. *Miracle de Theodore*, 1357, page 104 | paragraph | (h1))
'where has she gone?'

For Middle French Jensen (1990:291) reports that *aler* was basically constructed with the perfect auxiliary *être*, as in the following example:

- (308) sa mere i **est** od li **alee**
'her mother went there with her'

But as Rickard (1974:61) points out, *avoir* is sometimes used as the perfect auxiliary of *aler*. Jensen (1990:291) reports that the use of *avoir* is particularly common in contexts where *aler* is combined with indications of duration, distance or road traveled. These characteristics were also common in Medieval Occitan, cf. the following examples from Jensen (1990:291) (see also the following section on Occitan):

- (309) tant **ont alé** qu'a un gué sont
'they traveled until they came to a ford'

- (310) quant il **ot** grant piece **alé**
‘when he had traveled a long time’

The next semantic category of verb selecting *être* as perfect auxiliary according to Sorace’s Hierarchy of Auxiliary Selection is represented by change of state verbs. A first subdivision within this group includes verbs of directed motion such as *entrer* ‘to enter’, *sortir* ‘to exit, get out’, *partir* ‘to depart, leave’, *retourner* ‘to return, turn around’, *tomber* ‘to fall’, etc. The following examples illustrate the use of the perfect auxiliary *être* with the verb *descendre* ‘descend’:

12th century

- (311) de son cheval est **descendus** (Anonymous, *Roman de Thèbes*, 1150, page 116 | paragraph | (h1))
‘he got off his horse’
- (312) ne sunt pas **descendu** (Guernes de Point-Sainte-Maxence, *La Vie de saint Thomas Becket*, 1172-1174, page 137 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
‘they have not descended’

13th century

- (313) **Descendu** sont li dui conte (Anonymous, *Ami et Amile*, 1200, page 106 | paragraph | (h1))
‘the two earls have descended’
- (314) Lancelos fu **descendus** (Anonymous, *La Mort le roi Artu*, 1230, page 161 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
‘Lancelot had descended’

14th century

- (315) Quant des cieulx estes **descendue** (Anonymous, *Miracle de un marchant et un larron*, 1349, page 111 | paragraph | (h1))
‘When you descended from the sky’

- (316) Depuis que sommes **descendu** (Anonymous, *Miracle de la fille d'un roy*, 1379, page 70 | paragraph | (h1))
'Since we have descended'

Another class of change of state verbs is represented by internally caused verbs of change of state such as *devenir* 'to become'. These verbs are always used with the perfect auxiliary *être*, and there is no indication of variation with respect to this choice:

12th century

- (317) qui sont **devenu** crestien (Gautier d' Arras, *Eracle*, 1176-1184, page 186 | paragraph | (h1))
'who have become a Christian'

- (318) Nuls ne set ke il est **devenu** (Hue de Rotelande, *Ipomédon*, 1180, page 252 | paragraph | (h1))
'nobody knows what he has become'

13th century

- (319) qu' est Hudent **devenu**? (Anonymous, *Folie Tristan de Berne*, 1200, page 0 | paragraph | (h1))
'what has Hudent become?'

- (320) qu' il sont **devenu** (Anonymous, *La Mort le roi Artu*, 1230, page 125 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
'what they have become'

14th century

- (321) Pour savoir qu' il est **devenu** (Anonymous, *Miracle de Theodore*, 1357, page 124 | paragraph | (h1))
'to know what he has become'

- (322) Que le tresor est **devenu** (Anonymous, *Miracle de saint Lorens*, 1380, page 161 | paragraph | (h1))
‘what the treasure has become’

Sorace (2000) argues that the exception to the class of internally caused change of state verbs is represented by *mourir* ‘to die’ and *naître* ‘to be born’. Of these two verbs, *mourir* is the most interesting, as it also had a transitive use in Old French (meaning ‘to make/cause somebody die’) which involved the use of the perfect auxiliary *avoir*, as illustrated in the following examples:

12th century

- (323) Messire Yvains la dame a **morte** (Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Chevalier au Lion (Yvain)*, 1177-1180, page 89f.2719 | paragraph | (h1))
‘Sir Yvain has killed the lady’

13th century

- (324) Mainte ame ont **morte** et damagie (Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, 1218-1227, page 185 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
‘They have killed and damaged many souls’

A similar situation is found in Medieval Occitan (*mort m’a* ‘she has killed me’) and Old Italian (in the thirteenth century at least). See the following sections for other examples.

When *mourir* is used intransitively, the perfect auxiliary is always *être*:

12th century

- (325) Quant sis fiz veit que **morte** fu (Marie de France, *Lais*, 1160-1170, page 144 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))
‘when her son saw that she was dead’
- (326) S’il fust vis et je fusse **morte**! (Chrétien de Troyes, *Le Conte du Graal (Perceval)*, 1181, page 373f.3387 | paragraph | (h1))
‘if he were alive and me dead’

13th century

- (327) que **morte** est sa mere (Anonymous, *Deuxième continuation de Perceval*, 1210, page 176 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

‘that his mother is dead’

- (328) Mieus vauroie estre **morte** (Anonymus, *Aiol*, 1210, page 185 | paragraph | (h1))

‘it would be much better to be dead’

14th century

- (329) que la dite Jehenne n'estoit pas **morte** (Guillaume de Saint-Pathus, *Miracles de saint Louis*, 1300, page 165 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

‘that the said J. was not dead’

- (330) Je croy qu' elle est **morte** d' annuy (Anonymous, *Miracle de saint Jehan Crisothomes*, 1344, page 289 | paragraph | (h1))

‘I think she died of boredom’

But Jensen (1990) reports that *estre morz*, that is the structure involving the past participle of the verb *mourir* and the perfect auxiliary *être*, may also have the meaning of ‘to be killed’, as in the following example:

- (331) Deus ne volt qu'il **seit** mort

‘God did not want him to be killed’

He also reports the use of the same structure with the same meaning in Medieval Occitan and brings the following example:

- (332) autremen **foran** mort

‘otherwise they would have been killed’

The following category of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary is represented by existence of state verbs. Gougenheim (1974:120) brings evidence that in Middle French *être*, which belongs to the subgroup of verbs referring to concrete

states, selected sometimes *être* as perfect auxiliary in the 16th century. On the basis of the origin of his examples (i.e. the social class to which the writer belongs), Gougenheim characterizes this usage either as a construction in vulgar French (e.g. *Je n'y fusse pas esté; ce fust esté*) or as an Italian influence (e.g. *sans toy suis esté*). My analysis of the data from “Textes du Français ancien” corpus (texts from the 12th - 16th centuries) from Laboratoire de Français Ancien, Université d'Ottawa, showed no occurrence of *être* as perfect auxiliary of *être*. My analysis has shown thousands of examples of *être* using the perfect auxiliary *avoir*, such as the following:

12th century

- (333) Qui longuement i avoient **esté** (Anonymus, *Couronnement de Louis*, page 111 | paragraph | (h1))

‘that had been there for a long time’

- (334) quarante anz i aveit **esté** (Marie de France, *Lais*, 1160-1170, page 214 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

‘he had been/lived there for forty years’

13th century

- (335) com il eut **esté** en vie (Gautier de Coinci, *Miracles de Notre-Dame*, 1218-1227, page 233 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

‘as if he were alive’

- (336) les terres ou Josephes avoit **esté** (Anonymous, *La Queste del Saint Graal*, 1225, page 84 | paragraph | (h1))

‘the places where J. had been’

14th century

- (337) si com ele avoit **esté** devant (G. de Saint-Pathus, *Miracles de saint Louis*, 1300, page 92 | paragraph | (h2) | (h1))

‘as if she had been in front’

- (338) Ou as **esté** moult longuement (Anonymous, *Miracle de un parroissian esconmenié*, 1356, page 53 | paragraph | (h1))
'where you have been for a long time'

Gougenheim (1974:120) reports that *être* was used as the perfect auxiliary of reflexive verbs in Middle French, but Grevisse (1988:1218), who also argues for the existence of variation between the two perfect auxiliaries in Modern spoken French, claims this variation was also present in Old French.

To conclude, auxiliary selection in the history of the French language was characterized by a tendency towards oscillation between the perfect auxiliaries *avoir* and *être*. French grammarians, such as Vaugelas, Malherbe, or the authors of the famous *Grammaire de Port Royal*, have tried to eliminate this oscillation and to settle the parameters of auxiliary selection. Even though the number of intransitive verbs selecting *être* as perfect auxiliary was larger in Old and Middle French and nowadays, auxiliary selection was determined only by the semantics of the verbs, that is it has the same degree of complexity as in Modern French.

3.6. Occitan

The previous chapter has shown that auxiliary selection in Modern Occitan is similar to auxiliary selection in French in having the lowest degree of complexity found in all the other Romance languages with auxiliary selection. Only a small number of Occitan verbs select BE as perfect auxiliary and only semantics influences the choice of the perfect auxiliary.

It is very interesting to mention that auxiliary selection in the earlier stages of Occitan resembles the present day situation, with little variation in the number of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary and sometimes free variation in the choice of the perfect auxiliary.

A rigorous treatment of auxiliary selection based on a Medieval Occitan corpus is found in Jensen (1986).

Jensen (1986:226) shows that all transitives in Medieval Occitan are used with the perfect auxiliary *aver* 'have', as in the following examples:

- (339) lo joy qu'**avetz avut**
 'The joy you have had'

- (340) quant vi que sa man **ac perdut**
 'When he saw that he had lost his hand'

- (341) la calor c'**an ahuda**
 'the heat they have suffered'

Esser 'be' is selected by change of location verbs such as *anar* 'to go', *arribar* 'to arrive', *venir* 'to come', by change of state verbs such as *entrar* 'to enter', *sortir* 'to exit, get out', *partir* 'to depart, leave', *tornar* 'to return', *tombar* 'to fall', *davalar* 'descend', *pojar* 'climb', *devenir* 'to become' (including the exceptions *morir* 'die' and *nàisser* 'be born'), by verbs expressing continuation of a pre-existing state (*demorar* 'stay'), and by existence of state verbs such as *èsser* 'be'. Here are some examples from Jensen (1986:225):

- (342) Des l'ora q'ieu **fui natz**
 'From the moment I was born'

- (343) On el **es remazutz**
 'Where it remained'

- (344) pretz **es vengutz** d'amont aval
 'Merit has declined'

- (345) **chazuts sui** en mala merce
 'I have fallen into disgrace'

- (346) **sui devengutz** liars
 'I have become grey-haired'

Jensen (1986:226) argues that the fluctuation between the two perfect auxiliaries which was characteristic to Old French is also present in Medieval

Occitan, but here basically BE is usually preferred: *es eissitz* ‘he has come out’, *es intratz* ‘it has entered’, *es anatz* ‘it has departed’, *pretz es vengutz* ‘merit has declined’, *es guerra moguda* ‘a war has begun’, *el es lai aribatz* ‘he has arrived there’, *Jaufres es dessendut* ‘Jaufré has descended’, *chazutz sui* ‘I have fallen’.

Jensen reports that the verb with the most fluctuating behavior is *anar* ‘to go’, which is quite frequently constructed with the perfect auxiliary *aver*, as in the following example:

- (347) Cant **ac anat** un petit
 ‘When he had walked a little’

When *anar* uses *aver* as perfect auxiliary, it is in most cases combined with an indication of time (as in the example above) or distance (as in *nun ac annat gaire lon* ‘he had not walked very far’). This rule makes Jensen argue that it lends an almost transitive character to the verb *anar* (1986:226), which would justify the use of the perfect auxiliary *aver*.

Jensen also reports free variation in the perfect auxiliary of *estar* ‘to be, to stay’, which may use either one of the two auxiliaries in the formation of its compound tenses (1986:226). Compare:

- (348) drutz **ai estat**
 ‘I have been a lover’
- (349) nos sai **avem** ganren **estat**
 ‘we have been here for a long time’
- (350) **suy** fizels **estatz**
 ‘I have been faithful’
- (351) **sui estat**z arbalestiers
 ‘I have been a crossbowman’

As in other Romance languages, normally intransitive verbs used transitively select HAVE as perfect auxiliary in Medieval Occitan: *an los autres desendutz* ‘he

lowered the others'(cf. Jensen 1986:226) – in Modern French *il a descendu les autres*. However, Jensen (1990:292) also reports the use of the perfect auxiliary *aver* in intransitive uses, as in the following example:

- (352) *sa valors avia trop descendut*
'her worth had declined too much'

Jensen (1990:264) reports the use of the perfect auxiliary HAVE with the transitive use of *morir*, i.e. 'to make/cause somebody die'. This situation was also found in French:

- (353) *mort m'a*
'She has killed me'

- (354) *mil homes a mortz ses glavi*
'It has killed a thousand men without a sword'

However, there are instances where *morir* accompanied by the perfect auxiliary *esser* may also mean 'to be killed' (cf. also Middle French):

- (355) *autremen foran mort*
'Otherwise they would have been killed'

A very interesting situation encountered in Medieval Occitan is that the main verb *aver* can take *esser* as perfect auxiliary, but, as Jensen (1986:227) points out, the examples show that in this case *aver* is not used transitively, i.e. it denotes existence and it is the equivalent of *estar* 'to be, to stay':

- (356) *deforas no son avut*
'They have not been outside.'

When *aver* is used with the perfect auxiliary *esser*, it may also denote happening or occurrence. As in the following example from Jensen (1986:227):

- (357) Com si pot **esser agut** aisso?
'How could that have happened?'

When *aver* is used transitively, the perfect auxiliary is *aver* (cf. the following example from Jensen 1986:227):

- (358) lo joy q' **avetz** avut
'The joy you have had'

Compound tenses of reflexive verbs in Medieval Occitan are usually formed by means of the perfect auxiliary *esser*:

- (359) cascun **s'en es annat**
'everybody has left'
- (360) Jaufre **s'es vestitz e causatz**
'J. put on his clothes and shoes'

Cases of *aver* are also encountered, however, but they seem to be confined to instances where the reflexive pronoun functions as dative, cf. the following example from Jensen (1986):

- (361) tant **s'a batut** lo pieh
'he has beaten his chest so hard'
- (362) lo reis joves **s'a pretz donat**
'The young king has gained fame.'

Jensen (1986:226) also reports variation in the choice of the perfect auxiliary with respect to impersonal verbs, as in the following examples:

- (363) Enaissi **es avengut**
'It happened this way.'

(364) **S'a** Dieu agues **plagut**

‘If it had pleased God’

As in French, Modern Occitan past participles accompanying *èsser* show number and gender agreement in most varieties: agreement is with the subject, e.g. *me som facha mal* ‘I (f.) have hurt myself’, *ela s’es copada lo braç* ‘she has cut her arm’ (cf. Wheeler 1988:270), but also object agreement if the verb is transitive: *Castelà s’es facha una glòria* ‘C. has turned into a wonder.’ (cf. Wheeler 1988:270).

A comparison between the state of auxiliary selection in Medieval Occitan and the present day situation leads to the conclusion that, while there is no apparent variation in the semantic classes of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, auxiliary selection evolved from a fluctuation between the two auxiliaries in Medieval Occitan to a grammaticalization of either auxiliary with specific categories of verbs in Modern Occitan. It may also be argued that the historical evolution of auxiliary selection in Occitan followed the same pattern as that in French.

3.7. Italian

As discussed in the previous chapter, Italian displays the most complex model of auxiliary selection of all modern Romance languages. It has the largest number of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, impersonal constructions also choose BE as perfect auxiliary, there is variation according to person and tense in some dialects, and modals select their perfect auxiliary according to the syntax of the following infinitive. This general picture is completed by the different types of variation existing within the Italian dialects.

This variety of factors affecting auxiliary selection has made Modern Italian one of the most studied languages in this respect. Unfortunately, not the same thing can be said about the older stages of the language.

The following account of auxiliary selection in Old Italian is based on my own collection of examples from the anonymous literary work *Novellino*, (also known as *Il libro di novelle et di bel parlar gentile* or the *Cento novelle antiche*), written presumably between 1280 and 1300 in the Florentine dialect (which imposed itself throughout Italy in the 14th century as the main, most prestigious common language). I studied the electronic version of the text as it is found on *Scrineum*, a

webpage containing medieval documents and books and hosted by Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Pavia (<http://lettere.unipv.it/scrineum/wight/novellino.htm>).

Transitive verbs in Old Italian (the Florentine dialect) select the perfect auxiliary *avere* 'have', cf. the following examples from *Novellino*:

(365) **aveano veduto et udito** (Chapter 2)

'they had seen and heard'

(366) **ch'avea tutto donato** (Chapter 19)

'that he had given away everything'

The number of intransitive verbs selecting *essere* 'be' as perfect auxiliary in Old Italian (the Florentine dialect) is very large. The most frequently used verb from this category is the change of location verb *venire* 'come', cf. the following examples from *Novellino*:

(367) **quando il notaio fu venuto** (Chapter 20)

'when the notary had come'

(368) **una grande pioggia che venuta era** (Chapter 31)

'a heavy rain which had fallen'

(369) **io a mia fine sono venuta** (Chapter 82)

'I have come to this end'

Other examples include change of location verbs and change of state verbs, cf. the following examples from *Novellino*:

(370) **Io sono caduto** in una fossa (Chapter 38)

'I have fallen into a ditch.'

(371) **poi ch' io sono tornato** (Chapter 50)

'Now that I have returned'

- (372) non sapea che ne **fosse adivenuto** (Chapter 64)

‘No one knew what had become of him.’

Existence of state verbs are also used with the perfect auxiliary *essere*, as in the following examples from *Novellino*:

- (373) **sono stati** molti (Chapter 1, *Proemio*)

‘that there have been many’

- (374) che **sono vivuti** grande lunghezza di tempo (Chapter 1, *Proemio*)

‘who have lived long’

- (375) in questo luogo ove io **sono istato** (Chapter 18b)

‘I have stayed in this place.’

An interesting aspect is the use of the verb *morire* both intransitively, meaning ‘die’, and transitively, meaning ‘kill’, just as in Old French and Medieval Occitan. The intransitive use imposes the use of the perfect auxiliary *essere*, whereas the transitive use imposes the use of *avere*, as in the following examples from *Novellino*:

- (376) Quando Salamone **fue morto** (Chapter 7)

‘When Solomon had died’

- (377) la destriera **era morta** (Chapter 3)

‘The dam had died’

- (378) Messere, fammi diritto di quelli c' a torto m' **hanno morto** lo mio figliuolo. (Chapter 69)

‘Sire, render me justice against those who have wrongfully put my son to death.’

- (379) fece giustizia di coloro ch' **aveano morto** il figliuolo di colei (Chapter 69)

‘He did justice on those who had killed the woman's son’

- (380) Perch' **avea morto** lo suo signore. (Chapter 90)

‘Because he had killed his lord and master’

Reflexive verbs in Old Italian (the Florentine dialect) select the perfect auxiliary *essere*. This rule also applies to some modern southern dialects. The following examples from *Novellino* illustrate the use of the perfect auxiliary *essere* with reflexive verbs, but also an instance of the use of *avere* as perfect auxiliary with this class of verbs:

- (381) io non **sono vestita** (Chapter 26)

‘I am not dressed’

- (382) io **mi sono costumato** di levare a provvedere le stele (Chapter 38)

‘I am accustomed to get up and study the stars.’

Maiden (1995:155) also reports that in the language of the thirteenth century, *avere* was used as the perfect auxiliary of reflexive verbs. His examples include cases where the reflexive structure is reciprocal (the first example below) and examples with dative reflexive objects:

- (383) Questi due cavalieri longamente **s’aveano amato** (Novellino – 13th century)

‘these two knights had long loved each other’

- (384) Bito **s’avea messa** la più ricca roba di vaio (idem)

‘Bito had put on the finest fur robe’

- (385) quello que **mi ho veduto** (Macinghi Strozzi – 15th century)

‘What I have seen for myself’

- (386) *i' m'ho fatto* pensiero (idem)
'I have thought to myself'

The use of *avere* with reflexive verbs is also documented for the 16th century, cf. the following examples from Maiden (1995:155):

- (387) *Non me l'ho smenticata* (Bandello)
'I haven't forgotten it'
- (388) *io ti vo' dir ciò che tacciuto m'averei* (idem)
'I will tell you what I would have kept to myself'
- (389) *aversi l'un l'altro post* oil cimiero in capo (idem)
'each to have put the helmet on the other's head'
- (390) *m'avevo fatto* amicizie (Cellini)
'I have made myself friendships'

The use of the perfect auxiliary *avere* with reflexive verbs is also attested in the late seventeenth century, as Maiden (1995:155) illustrates with the following examples from the work of Michele Benvenga:

- (391) *l'autorità che s'hanno acquistata*
'The authority that they have acquired'
- (392) *s'ha fatta* anch'egli una cappella a casa
'He too has made himself a chapel at home'

As mentioned above, the verb *essere* selects *essere* as its perfect auxiliary in Old Italian (the Florentine dialect), as in the following example from *Novellino*:

- (393) *dove era stato* lungamente (Chapter 50)
'Where he had been for a long time'

In terms of modal verbs, the following example from *Novellino* (13th century) shows the use of the perfect auxiliary *essere* with the modal *potere* followed by the infinitive *venire*, which requires the use of *essere*:

- (394) Ella non **era** ancora **potuta** venire
‘She had not been able to come’

A deeper study of the evolution of auxiliary selection in Old Italian would definitely be useful for a thorough understanding of the present day situation and would improve the investigation of the different semantic and syntactic factors affecting the selection of the perfect auxiliary in Modern Italian. On the basis of the above analysis and assuming that the usage found in the Florentine *Novellino* is representative of Old Italian dialects generally, it can be argued that auxiliary selection in Modern (Standard) Italian does not differ much from the situation found in the language spoken in the 13th century: the verbs selecting *essere* as perfect auxiliary belong to the same semantic categories. The most noticeable difference is the use of *avere* with reflexive verbs. But while Standard Italian has generalized the use of *essere* with reflexives, some Southern dialects use the pattern found in Old Italian.

3.8. Dalmatian

The present historical overview of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages should also take into account the otherwise less known member of Balkan Romance, Dalmatian, totally lost at the end of the nineteenth century. The only description (published in 1906) of a version of this language (spoken on the island of Veglia) is based on personal interrogation of the last-known surviving speaker who actually had never been an active communicator in the language (cf. Posner 1996:196). Based on this rather unreliable evidence Posner (1996:196) suggests that Dalmatian (at least in the nineteenth century) did not select BE as perfect auxiliary, cf. the following example:

- (395) Ju ai venit.
I have:1sg. come:m.sg
'I have come'.

I have not been able to consult the primary sources concerning Dalmatian and therefore I cannot state that Dalmatian did not have auxiliary selection. This is a topic for further study.

3.9. Romanian

The section on Modern Daco-Romanian in Chapter 2 has shown that lexical auxiliary selection does not appear in this language, in spite of the existence of a structure involving the verb *a fi* 'be' and the past participle of some intransitive verbs. It has also been argued that such a construction has to be interpreted as an instance of copula accompanied by a past participle with adjectival value.

According to my research, there is no evidence of lexical auxiliary selection in Old Romanian. The earliest surviving document written in Romanian, *Scrisoarea lui Neacșu din Cîmpulung* 'The Letter of Neacșu from Cîmpulung', dating from 1521, shows that Compound Past in Old Romanian was formed with the auxiliary *a avea* 'have'. The following table lists all the Compound Past forms found in the text, their modern variant (which is, in most cases, identical), an English equivalent and the verbal category they belong to, i.e transitive, intransitive, or reflexive:

Table 3.3

| Old Rom. | Mod.Rom. | English equivalent | verbal category |
|-------------|------------|----------------------------|-----------------|
| am auzit | am auzit | ‘I have heard’ | transitive |
| au eșit | a ieșit | ‘he has left’ | intransitive |
| se-au dus | s-a dus | ‘he has gone’ | reflexive |
| au venit | a venit | ‘he has come’ | intransitive |
| au spus | a spus | ‘he has said’ | transitive |
| au văzut | a văzut | ‘he has seen’ | transitive |
| au trecut | au trecut | ‘they have passed through’ | intransitive |
| se-au prins | s-au prins | ‘they have agreed’ | reflexive |
| am auzit | am auzit | ‘I have heard’ | transitive |
| au dat | a dat | ‘he has given’ | transitive |
| am înțeles | am înțeles | ‘I have understood’ | transitive |

Another old text that I had in view when investigating the possibility of auxiliary selection in the earlier stages of Romanian was *Însemnările de călătorie și de studii la Constantinopol, Venetia și Padova ale lui C. Cantacuzino*⁴⁴ (‘C. Cantacuzino’s Travel and Study Notes from Constantinople, Venice and Padua’),⁴⁵ written between 1665 and 1668 under the form of a logbook in the first person. The text contains 98 occurrences of Compound Past, all of them with the auxiliary *a avea*. As it describes several of the author’s travels, the text contains many change of location verbs, such as ‘go’, ‘come’, ‘arrive’, ‘leave’ etc., but none of them is used in the Compound Past with the auxiliary *a fi*.

However, a study by Ghinescu (1967) brings several examples of the use of *a fi* with past participles of intransitive verbs in earlier stages of Romanian. The examples belong to literary works ranging from the 17th century up to the 20th century. They involve intransitive verbs such as *a ajunge* ‘to reach’, *a ieși* ‘to exit’, *a intra* ‘to enter’, *a pleca* ‘to leave’, *a sosi* ‘to arrive’, *a veni* ‘to come’, *a pieri* ‘to die’, *a trece* ‘to pass’. Agreement of the past participle with the subject is to be observed in all cases.

⁴⁴ Constantin Cantacuzino (1640-1716) was a brilliant scholar and humanist educated at Padua in Italy.

⁴⁵ The text can be found in Dimitrescu 1973:109-116.

The following examples belong to the 17th century and they are considered Compound Past forms:

- (396) Știind el că Petru Vodă **este** în munți **intrat**
'Knowing that PV has entered the mountains'
- (397) că **este sosită** pieirea
'That the end has come'
- (398) Den împărăția lui Traian **sînt veniți** în aceste părți
'They have come to these areas from Trojan's empire'
- (399) Cetatea Hotinului **era ieșită** de supt ascultarea lui
'The fortress of Hotin stopped obeying him.'

These examples belong to the same pattern as the examples from Modern Romanian discussed in Chapter 2, section 2.8, which have been shown to be copular structures. Semantically, they all point to the state resulting from a previous action. In all cases, the normal Compound Past with the perfect auxiliary *a avea* would have been possible, but with a difference in meaning.

Ghinescu (1967) also brings examples of "Compound Past" forms of reflexive verbs used with the auxiliary *a fi*, such as *a se duce* 'to go' (equivalent of French *s'en aller*), *a se înțelege* 'to reach an agreement', *a se naște* 'to be born', *a se așeza* 'to settle', *a se coborî* 'to descend', *a se întoarce* 'to return', *a se strînge* 'to gather', *a se urca* 'to climb'. Mention should be made that the reflexive clitic, usually accompanying the main reflexive verb in all moods and tenses, appears in none of the examples cited by Ghinescu as containing participles of these verbs and the verb *a fi*:

- (400) Ioan Vodă Moghilă, carele **era** la Ardeal **așezat**
'Ioan Vodă Moghilă, who had settled down in Ardeal'
- (401) S-au întors Mircea Vodă în Tîrgoviște unde **era** toate oștile lui **strînse**
'Mircea Vodă returned to T where all his armies had gathered.'

The absence of the reflexive clitic from these examples may lead to the conclusion that these are not in fact examples of reflexive verbs they can be interpreted as copular or passive. In Romanian many transitive verbs can become reflexive by the addition of a reflexive clitic: *a strînge* 'to gather (something)' – *a se strînge* 'to gather'. The use of a past participle with BE occurs in the passive voice, so the examples above can be considered passive.

However, Ghinescu (1967:141) cites examples of the use of the perfect auxiliary *a fi* with reflexive verbs in the 16th century Old Romanian in a pattern common to other Romance languages, i.e. with a clitic. It is not clear whether these structures excluded the ones with the perfect auxiliary *a avea*:

(402) **se era împărțit**
'it had been divided'

(403) **se era lepădați**
'they had been abandoned'

(404) **pînă nu se era culcați** bărbații
'until the men went to sleep'

I could not check the above examples as there is no mention of the text or texts they belong to. It is also not clear whether they belong to some Romanian dialect and whether they appear in a Romanian translation of a biblical text or a literary work.

Referring to the use of *a fi* as an auxiliary, Manoliu (1959:143) argues in favor of the Slavic influence on Romanian syntax. She claims that although many calqued structures restricted to the literary language and unknown in everyday speech disappeared completely, the verbal structure with the auxiliary *a fi* survived (see the section on Modern Daco-Romanian in Chapter 2 for a full list of tenses and mood constructed with the auxiliary *a fi*). She also believes the fact that structures involving the present (or imperfect) indicative of the auxiliary *a fi* and a past participle are attested as early as the 17th century and the absence of the reflexive clitic in similar structures involving reflexive verbs argues in favor of a Slavic influence, which was very strong at that time and which affected many areas of

Romanian grammar and vocabulary. Old Church Slavonic was used as official language till the 18th century.

There is no clear evidence of auxiliary selection in the earlier stages of the language. Romanian seems to be the only Romance language which has never had lexical auxiliary selection, although the lack of early texts must prevent us from being too definite about this point. The absence of lexical auxiliary selection in Romanian may be explained by the historical circumstances which isolated the Latin brought by the Romans to Dacia soon after the process of Romanization. One may assume that if auxiliary selection was already present in Vulgar Latin it disappeared before the first documents written in Romanian (the 16th century). Another possible explanation is that lexical auxiliary selection was in an incipient phase at the time Latin was brought to Dacia and that the separation of Romanian from the rest of ROMANIA (less than 200 years after that) did not allow the development of the phenomenon. These questions will be dealt with in Chapter 5 of this thesis.

3.10. Conclusion

The analysis of auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages presented in the previous chapter has led to a classification of these languages in terms of the complexity of auxiliary selection. Thus, at one end of the hierarchy were the languages spoken in the eastern and western parts of ROMANIA, i.e. Romanian, Spanish and Portuguese, with no auxiliary selection at all and a single perfect auxiliary. The next step was represented by French, Occitan and some Catalan dialects, where auxiliary selection has the lowest level of complexity, manifested in the limited number of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary and the supremacy of semantics as the only factor determining the selection of the perfect auxiliary. A further degree of complexity in auxiliary selection is represented by Rhaeto-Romance and Sardinian, with a larger number of verbs choosing the perfect auxiliary BE and with a variety of factors, both semantic and syntactic, affecting auxiliary selection. At the other end of the hierarchy is Italian, with the highest degree of complexity in term of auxiliary selection. There are around 300 Italian verbs selecting *essere* as perfect auxiliary. Besides, the choice of the perfect auxiliary is also determined by several grammatical factors, such as person and tense and, for modal verbs, the perfect auxiliary normally selected by the following infinitive. The

different types of variation existing in the modern Italian dialects complete the overall description and justify the position of Italian as the modern Romance language with the most complex auxiliary selection.

The diachronic analyses of auxiliary selection presented in this chapter equally show different manifestations in different Romance languages. On the basis of these analyses and of the hierarchy discussed above, I have identified four groups of languages, classified according to the historical development of perfect auxiliaries.⁴⁶ These groups correspond to the generally accepted geographic division of the Romance languages. They are listed below in the order of the degree of complexity in respect to the historical development of auxiliary selection:

1. Balkan Romance, i.e. Romanian (and Dalmatian), languages with no written evidence of auxiliary selection, either in the old stages, or in the modern ones; HAVE is the only perfect auxiliary (of the Compound Past).
2. The Romance of Iberia, i.e. Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan (in general – see the discussion on Catalan in Chapter 2), languages with plenty of written evidence of auxiliary selection in texts from earlier stages, however, with no trace of auxiliary selection in present-day languages. Each of these languages has generalized a different perfect auxiliary: *haver* in Spanish, *ter* in Portuguese, and *anar* in Catalan.
3. The Romance of Gaul, i.e. French and Occitan, languages where the number of intransitive verbs having BE as perfect auxiliary is smaller nowadays than it was at earlier stages of the languages, but auxiliary selection varies according to the semantics of the verb only. A tendency towards the generalization of HAVE as perfect auxiliary has been observed in present-day languages.
4. Italian, Rhaeto-Romance, and Sardinian, languages where the phenomenon of auxiliary selection is, and was (in Italian at least) very well represented and it is supported by variation according to a multitude of factors, both semantic and grammatical. Auxiliary selection in this group shows little inclination towards losing its power (as in French, for instance).

⁴⁶ This classification takes into consideration only the selection between the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE.

The diachronic analysis of auxiliary selection presented in this chapter has shown that, generally, auxiliary selection varies not only from language to language, but also from one historical stage to another. The biggest variation is recorded for the languages belonging to the second group above, Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan, where auxiliary selection has been entirely lost by the modern stage.

Sorace's Hierarchy of Auxiliary Selection (2000) also proves right in the diachronic analysis above, with no variation within the same language in the semantic classes of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary, but variation, usually manifested in reduction, between the numbers of verbs belonging to these classes.

I acknowledge the fact that the diachronic analyses presented in this chapter as far from being complete, but a more comprehensive discussion of auxiliary selection in all Romance languages in their older stages would definitely exceed the limit of a doctoral thesis. My aim was to offer an overall account of the historical evolution of auxiliary selection, a topic usually neglected in linguistic analysis of this process. The next chapter intends to take the diachronic analysis of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages even further by investigating the origins of the periphrases with the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE. It will be shown that while the origin and evolution of the structure HAVE + past participle from Latin to the Romance languages are quite clear, the construction with BE has been less studied and frequently ignored. The studies that do focus on this construction perceive it as a continuation of the Latin class of deponent verbs. The largest part of the following chapter will analyze the validity of this claim.

Chapter 4

The Origins of the Romance Perfect Auxiliaries HAVE and BE

After describing auxiliary selection from a synchronic point of view in Chapter 2 and after observing its evolution in the history of the Romance languages in Chapter 3, I shall focus on the issues related to the origins of the Romance Compound Past tense and the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE.

The first part of this chapter reconsiders the historical development of the Romance Compound Past, a tense that did not have an equivalent in the Latin verbal system. This new construction appeared as a result of the dual function of forms such as Lat. *cantavit*, which were used both as a present perfect ('he has sung') and as a past simple ('he sang'). The latter meaning survived in Romance in the form of preterites (cf. Fr. *chanta*, Rom. *cîntă*, It. *cantò*, etc.), whereas the first meaning came gradually to be expressed through the grammaticalization of the periphrasis HABET CANTATUM, made up of the auxiliary 'have' in the present indicative plus a participle, cf. Fr. *a chanté*, Rom. *a cîntat*, It. *ha cantato*, Sp. *he cantado*, Sard. *appo kantau*, etc.

The question of how HAVE came to be used as perfect auxiliary has already been discussed (see, for instance, Benveniste 1966 for a traditional approach, Vincent 1982 for a Case Grammar approach, and Salvi 1989 for a generative approach), but the origins of BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages have received little attention. The aim of this chapter is to investigate the validity of the traditional assumption that the Romance Compound Past with BE as perfect auxiliary is a continuation of the periphrastic structure of the Latin deponent inflection. Consequently, the largest part of this chapter will be devoted to the study of Latin deponents in terms of their origin, structure and development. First, the traditional hypothesis concerning the origin of the Romance perfect auxiliary BE as descendant from the Latin deponential inflection will be presented and its implications will be discussed. To test the validity of this hypothesis, I will try to provide a comprehensive investigation of the deponent phenomenon in Latin. The first step will be an analysis of their origin, unanimously acknowledged to be in the Proto-

Indo-European middle voice. The study of Latin deponents will continue with the identification of their position within the Latin verbal system and the description of their individual features. Special attention will be paid to the different classifications of Latin deponents and to their continuously oscillating behaviour, which intrigued many generations of linguists. On the basis of the results provided by this analysis, it will be shown that the Latin deponents seem not to have played a role in the development of the perfect structure using the perfect auxiliary BE in the Romance languages.

4.1. The Latin verbal system

The present section will offer a general overview of the Latin verbal system with special emphasis on the elements that have been inherited from Proto-Indo-European (PIE), on the Latin innovations in terms of voice, and on the changes in the verbal system from Latin to the Romance languages.

4.1.1. Infectum and perfectum

The Latin verbal system is based on the fundamental aspectual opposition, already mentioned by Varro in his *De lingua latina* (1st century BC), between the *infectum*, i.e. tenses built on the present stem, and the *perfectum*, i.e. tenses built on the perfect stem. This was an aspectual opposition: the *infectum* corresponds to the imperfective aspect (non-completed), while the *perfectum* corresponds to the perfective aspect (completed). Later on, this aspectual distinction turned into a temporal one.

For each of these two aspects Latin developed a complex tense system based on the use of distinct stems, originally unrelated (cf. Vineis 1998:300). For example, for the verb *nōscō* 'I know' a series of tenses are built on the present/imperfective stem *nosc-*: *nōscō* (present), *nōscēbam* (imperfect), *nōscam* (future), whereas another series of tenses are built on the perfect/perfective stem *nov-*: *nōvī* (perfect), *nōveram* (pluperfect), *nōverō* (future perfect). As in many other IE languages, Latin developed three tenses, the present, the past, and the future, which expressed the semantic notions of contemporaneity, anteriority, and posteriority.

In the *infectum*, the present tense, directly inherited from the PIE present, is not distinguished by any specific temporal or modal suffix, as the past and future

tenses are. The past tense is represented by the imperfect tense, marking ongoing actions in the past. The Latin future tense developed out of the late PIE subjunctive.

In the *perfectum*, the counterpart of the present tense is represented by the perfect tense, whose functions correspond to the IE aorist and perfect. The past tense of the *perfectum* is the pluperfect tense, corresponding to the imperfect tense of the *infectum*. The future of the *perfectum* is represented by the future perfect tense. Of the three tenses, only the perfect is believed to be of IE descent, resulting from the historical merger of the classical PIE perfect and aorist (cf. Baldi 1999:367).

It is important to mention that Latin was characterized by a tendency to maximize the grammatical category of tense, without paying too much attention to aspectual distinctions. This was achieved through the development of a broad system of distinct temporal oppositions, the *consecutio temporum*, in which the essential part is played by the expression of anteriority with reference to the present, past, and future (cf. Vineis 1998:317).

Strongly connected with the category of tense, the category of mood in Latin is represented by indicative, subjunctive, and imperative, preserved to different extents from PIE. The optative did not survive in Latin, but its functions were taken over by the subjunctive. The following table illustrates the tenses of the Latin verb *cantare* ‘sing’ (for the first person singular) both in the *infectum* and the *perfectum*:

Table 4.1
The *infectum* and the *perfectum* of *cantare* ‘sing’

| | | Indicative | Subjunctive |
|------------------|----------------|-------------------|--------------------|
| <i>Infectum</i> | Present | <i>canto</i> | <i>cantem</i> |
| | Imperfect | <i>cantābam</i> | <i>cantārem</i> |
| | Future | <i>cantābo</i> | |
| <i>Perfectum</i> | Perfect | <i>cantāvi</i> | <i>cantāverim</i> |
| | Pluperfect | <i>cantāveram</i> | <i>cantāvissem</i> |
| | Future perfect | <i>cantāvero</i> | |

The Latin verbal system comprises distinct endings for each of the three grammatical persons, both in the singular and in the plural. Latin has a series of active endings and a series of passive endings, as illustrated in the table below:

Table 4.2: Active and passive endings in Latin

| | Active | Passive |
|---------------------------------|------------|---------------|
| 1 st person singular | <i>ō/m</i> | <i>r</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>s</i> | <i>re/ris</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>t</i> | <i>tur</i> |
| 1 st person plural | <i>mus</i> | <i>mur</i> |
| 2 nd | <i>tis</i> | <i>mini</i> |
| 3 rd | <i>nt</i> | <i>ntur</i> |

To sum up, Latin verbs were marked for: person (first, second, and third), number (singular and plural), tense (past, present, and future), mood (indicative, subjunctive and imperative), and voice (active and passive). All these grammatical categories can be observed in the following tables listing the paradigm of the verb *amare* ‘to love’:

Table 4.3: Active finite forms of the Latin verb *amare* ‘to love’

| | Present | Imperfect | Future | Perfect | Pluperfect | Future Perfect |
|-------------|---|---|--|---|---|--|
| Indicative | amō amās amat amāmus amātis amant | amābam amābās amābat amābāmus amābātis amābant | amābō amābis amābit amābimus amābitis amābunt | amāvī amāvistī amāvit amāvimus amāvistis amāvērunt | amāveram amāverās amāverat amāverāmus amāverātis amāverant | amāverō amāveris amāverit amāverimus amāveritis amāverint |
| Subjunctive | Present | Imperfect | | Perfect | Pluperfect | |
| | amem amēs amet amēmus amētis ament | amārem amārēs amāret amārēmus amārētis amārent | | amāverim amāveris amāverit amāverimus amāveritis amāverint | amāvissem amāvissēs amāvisset amāvissēmus amāvissētis amāvissent | |

Table 4.4: Passive finite forms of the Latin verb *amare* ‘to love’

| | | | | | | |
|------------|--|--|---|--|---|--|
| Indicative | Present amor amāris amātur amāmur amāmini amāntur | Imperfect amābar amābāris amābātur amābāmur amābāmini amābāntur | Future amābor amāberis amābitur amābimur amābimini amābuntur | Perfect amātus sum amātus es amātus est amātī sumus amātī estis amātī sunt | Pluperfect amātus eram amātus erās amātus erat amātī erāmus amātī erātis amātī erant | Future Perfect amātus erō amātus eris amātus erit amātī erimus amātī eritis amātī erunt |
| | Present amer amēris amētur amēmur amēmini amēntur | Imperfect amārer amārēris amārētur amārēmur amārēmini amārēntur | | Perfect amātus sim amātus sis amātus sit amātī simus amātī sitis amātī sint | Pluperfect amātus essem amātus essēs amātus esset amātī essemus amātī essētis amātī essent | |

Generally, the Latin verbal inflection is effected by the addition of personal endings to the verb stems. However, in the passive voice, the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect tenses in the indicative and the perfect and pluperfect tenses in the subjunctive are formed by the combination of the perfect participle of the main verb with forms of the auxiliary verb *esse* ‘to be’. The grey areas in the table indicate the moods and tenses analytically formed.

Beside the finite forms presented in the tables above, every Latin verb displayed a set of non-finite forms: two infinitives (present and perfect), three participles (past, present, and future), a supine, a gerund, and a gerundive.

The next section will take a closer look at the grammatical category of voice as it is represented in the Latin verbal system.

4.1.2. Voice

Traditional grammars make the distinction between the active and passive voices,⁴⁷ differentiated by a series of distinct endings, as illustrated above. The Latin active voice is a continuation of the active voice of late PIE and it is recognized as the most important, playing *prīma positiō*, as verbs are always cited in their active form. The passive is generally defined as opposed to the active, a relationship that Varro called *contrāria*. As the Latin passive covers a wide range of meanings, the voice opposed to the active is also known as impersonal/mediopassive (cf. Vineis 1998:300). The origin of the Latin passive voice is shown in the following figure

⁴⁷ Latin grammarians devoted a great part of their works to the study of Latin voices. Some recognize the existence of two voices, the active and the passive, while others count up to nine voices. For a full discussion on this topic, see Flobert (1975:14-20).

from Baldi (1999:367). The figure also summarizes the origin of the Latin grammatical category of tense/aspect from the PIE categories and characteristics described in the previous section.

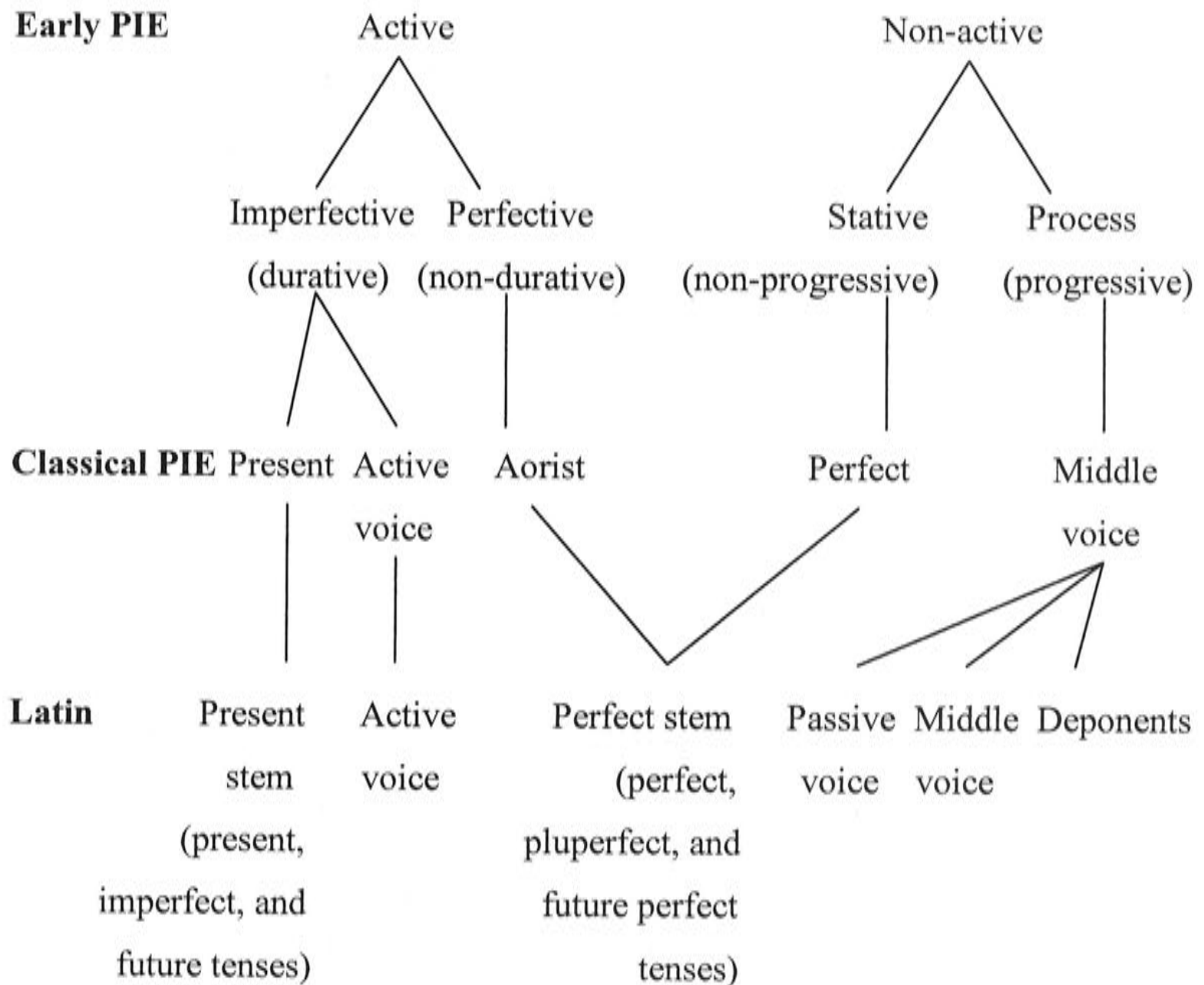


Figure 4.1:

The development of tense/aspect and voice from early PIE to Latin

Baldi points out that the late PIE middle voice gave rise to three complementary categories in Latin: the middle, a semantically and lexically restricted class; the deponents, which are largely morphological relics of earlier middles;⁴⁸ and the passive voice, which is the voice in productive opposition to the active. For a theoretical discussion of the passage from the PIE non-active to the Latin middles and deponents, see Kurzova 1993:157 ff.

⁴⁸ Flobert (1975) argues that there are many denominal and analogical deponents.

A slightly different classification of the members of the Latin passive voice is presented by Vineis (1998:300). He distinguishes on the one hand forms such as *bibitur*, *ēstur*, *itur*, derived both from transitive and intransitive verbs. With these verbs, the absence of a specific subject presents the verbal action as complete in itself. On the other hand, there are forms like *cingor* ‘surround’, and *induor* ‘put on (clothes, ornaments)’, with dual function: reflexive-middles when no agent is expressed, but true passives when an agent is expressed. A third class is represented by the so-called ‘deponent’ verbs which are “middle forms showing various grades of ‘active’ meaning” (cf. Vineis 1990:300). Besides the active meaning, deponent verbs are also characterized by an ‘active’ behavior. Many of them may combine with active endings and govern an object complement, as transitive verbs. But the opposite process also occurred, especially in Late Latin (cf. Vineis 1998, and mainly Flobert 1975), when deponents were used as true passives because of their passive form which, Vineis assumes, must have outweighed the fact that they had developed a relatively firm active meaning. This dynamic behavior engendered, as one might expect, ambiguity, uncertainty and hypercorrect forms, and, later on, disappearance,⁴⁹ as reflected in the Romance languages.

4.1.3. Major changes from Latin to Romance

Although it uses inherited material, the Romance verbal system is fundamentally different from that of Latin. In spite of the fact that the person and number categories remain basically the same in Romance, the more complicated categories of tense, mood and aspect go through substantial restructuring both in terms of the grammatical oppositions and of their formal expression.

There is also general consent among linguists that the Romance system must be considered **temporal**. The following diagram of the indicative verbal system of French shows a basic pattern of four temporal possibilities on each of two time axes, with only one fully grammaticalized aspectual opposition, that between punctual and durative at the simultaneous point on the past axis (apud Harris 1988:228):

⁴⁹ It is evident that Latin deponents, as a verbal class, did not survive in any Romance language. However, there are claims that some of their characteristics, such as the structure BE + past participle, are still alive in the syntax of a special class of intransitive verbs in some Romance languages.

| | | | |
|--------------|----------------------|-----------------|-------------------|
| | <i>aura chanté</i> | | |
| | p/a | | |
| Present axis | <i>a chanté</i> | <i>chante</i> | <i>chantera</i> |
| | a | s | p |
| Past axis | <i>avait chanté</i> | <i>chantait</i> | <i>chanterait</i> |
| | a | <i>chanta</i> | p |
| | | s | |
| | <i>aurait chanté</i> | | |
| | p/a | | |

Note: a = anterior, s = simultaneous, p = posterior, p/a = posterior/anterior (i.e. earlier than some later time).

It is evident that the Latin system has suffered a fairly radical restructuring: there are only three etymological survivors, all in the simultaneity column, and six Romance creations considered to have developed from the following late Latin sources (cf. Klausenburger 2000:68):

| | |
|---------------------|---|
| Present perfect | <i>habet cantatum</i> |
| Pluperfect | <i>habebat cantatum</i> |
| Future | <i>cantare habet</i> |
| Conditional | <i>cantare habebat (habuit)</i> |
| Future perfect | <i>habere habet cantatum</i> |
| Conditional perfect | <i>habere habebat (habuit) cantatum</i> |

Synthetic forms made up three-fourths of the Latin verbal system. The rise of new analytic structures was due to three fundamental morpho-syntactic instabilities involving the perfect, the future and the passive.

Comparing the Latin verb morphology with the Romance one, Vincent (1988:47-48) identifies four different circumstances which can be described and exemplified as follows:

1. **Survival:** the Latin forms may survive in more or less their original function, e.g. the present (Lat. *venio* > Span. *vengo*, Port. *venho*, Cat. *vinc*, Fr. *viens*, Occ. *veni*, It. *vengo*, Rom. *vin*) and the imperfect:

2. **Survival with a change in function:** some Latin forms may survive with a change in function, e.g. Lat. *-issem* (marker of the pluperfect subjunctive) > Romance *-ss-* (marker of the imperfect subjunctive in languages with such a tense): Lat. *venissem* > Fr. *vinsse*, It. *venissi*;

3. **Disappearance:** some Latin forms disappeared altogether, e.g. the inflected passive: Lat. *amor*, but Fr. *je suis aimé*, Rom *eu sînt iubit*;

4. **New creation:** many Romance verb forms are not the direct reflexes of Latin verb forms, but the result of the grammaticalization, sometimes fusion, as in (i), of the elements forming a periphrastic construction:

- i. The construction Infinitive + HABERE replaces the Latin synthetic future⁵⁰;
- ii. The construction HABERE + past participle partly replaces the Latin inflected perfect and partly coexists with it to create a new grammatical opposition⁵¹;
- iii. The conditional, a Romance formation with no correspondent in Latin.

It is the second type of new creation that is important for the present thesis and I shall proceed with a discussion of the origins of this construction.

4.2. The Origins of the Romance Compound Past

The Latin perfect of the type *amavit* 's/he has loved' is present in all Romance literary languages, but is quite uncommon in everyday use in languages such as French, Italian, and Romanian, where its place has been taken by a new compound past tense made up of an auxiliary (usually 'have' < Lat. HABERE) and a past participle. All Romance languages make to some extent use of this periphrasis which often expresses a more recent past than the Latin perfect. As seen in section 4.1. above, analytic forms were fully operational in Latin for perfect tenses in the passive voice (e.g. *amatus sum* 'I have been loved') and for perfect tenses of deponent verbs (e.g. *hortatus sum* 'I have exhorted').

The new tense appeared as a result of the dual function of forms such as *amavit*, which were used both as a **preterite** (indicating actions which took place in

⁵⁰ This is not valid for Romanian, where the simple future is made up of the auxiliary *a voi* 'to want' and the infinitive of the main verb.

⁵¹ This rule generally applies to all Latin regular verbs. Deponent verbs received a different treatment. See below the discussion about deponent verbs.

a period of time which is wholly past) and as a **present perfect** (expressing actions which took place, began to take place, or failed to take place in a past which is still in progress). The two most obvious ways to remedy this instability are either for one of the functions to be lost, or, alternatively, for a new form to be created. It is this second solution which is adopted, and *amavit* is replaced by *habeo amatum*. This change occurred at a period when certain evolutionary processes were taking place in the language as a whole; a vital factor was the general tendency within Vulgar Latin for synthetic forms to be replaced by analytical forms. The first function, that of preterite, was preferred in Classical Latin⁵²: it was the narrative tense *par excellence*, it was accompanied by past time adverbs and required historical concordance within the complex sequence of tense rules. This meaning survived in the Romance languages in the form of preterites, e.g. Fr. *chanta*, Rom. *cîntă*, It. *cantò*, etc. The latter function, that of present perfect, pointing to actions situated within a period of time which includes the present moment or seen as being still relevant at the present moment (cf. Harris 1982:43), was preferred in Vulgar Latin and this meaning came gradually to be expressed through the grammaticalization of the periphrasis *HABERE* + PAST PARTICIPLE, e.g. Fr. *a chanté*, Rom. *a cîntat*, It. *ha cantato*, etc. All Romance languages make some use of such a compound perfect tense which is made up of the present tense of an **auxiliary verb** and an originally **passive participial form**. The participle expresses the notion of perfect, while the auxiliary offers grammatical information about person, number, tense and mood.

The origin of the new construction is undeniable, but there is disagreement with respect to the existence of examples of *HABERE* as perfect auxiliary in Latin and of a continuous evolution from the 'classical' examples to the literary evidence offered by Vulgar Latin (for a critical treatment of the problem, see Pinkster 1987).

Initially, *HABERE* was a synonym of *TENERE* 'to hold, keep' (expressing therefore a durative action), but it came to signify possession and later assumed the meaning of a generic relation, thus becoming the reverse of *ESSERE*, the verb expressing relation *par excellence*. As Salvi (1987:229) exemplifies, the sentences

⁵² Classical Latin time lasted from the 2nd century BC to the 2nd century AD.

- (405) Domus est Petro.
house (nominative) is Petrus (dative)
'The house is of Petrus' (a more appropriate translation would be
'The house belongs to Petrus')

and

- (406) Petrus habet domum.
Petrus (nominative) has house (accusative)
'Petrus has a house'

present the same state of affairs. Only the subject is different: the possessed thing in the former, the possessor in the latter. It is a similar relation to the one between the active and the passive. Gildersleeve & Lodge (1953:224) make a very interesting remark about the use of the Dative case in such constructions and compare it with the use of the Genitive case: the dative expresses the person interested in the possession, hence the possession is emphasized, whereas the genitive characterizes the possession by the possessor, so the possessor is emphasized. While the genitive refers to the permanent possessor, or owner, the dative refers to the temporary possessor.

Trying to define the Compound Past, Benveniste (1966:200) focuses on the very meaning of the lexical verb HABERE and transfers this meaning, through the auxiliary HABERE, to the Compound Past. As such, the new Romance tense, expressing a type of state invoking possession, presents the author as possessor of the accomplishment.

From a historical perspective, the evolution of the Compound Past from Latin to Romance is believed to have undergone the following development:

- (407)
- | | | | | | | |
|-----------|-------------|--------------------|---|-----------|---------------|-------------|
| HABEO | LITTERAS | SCRIPTAS | > | HABEO | SCRIPTUS | LITTERAS |
| have 1sg. | the letters | Acc. written f.pl. | | have 1sg. | written m.sg. | the letters |
| Acc. | | | | | | |

'I have letters written'

'I have written the letters'

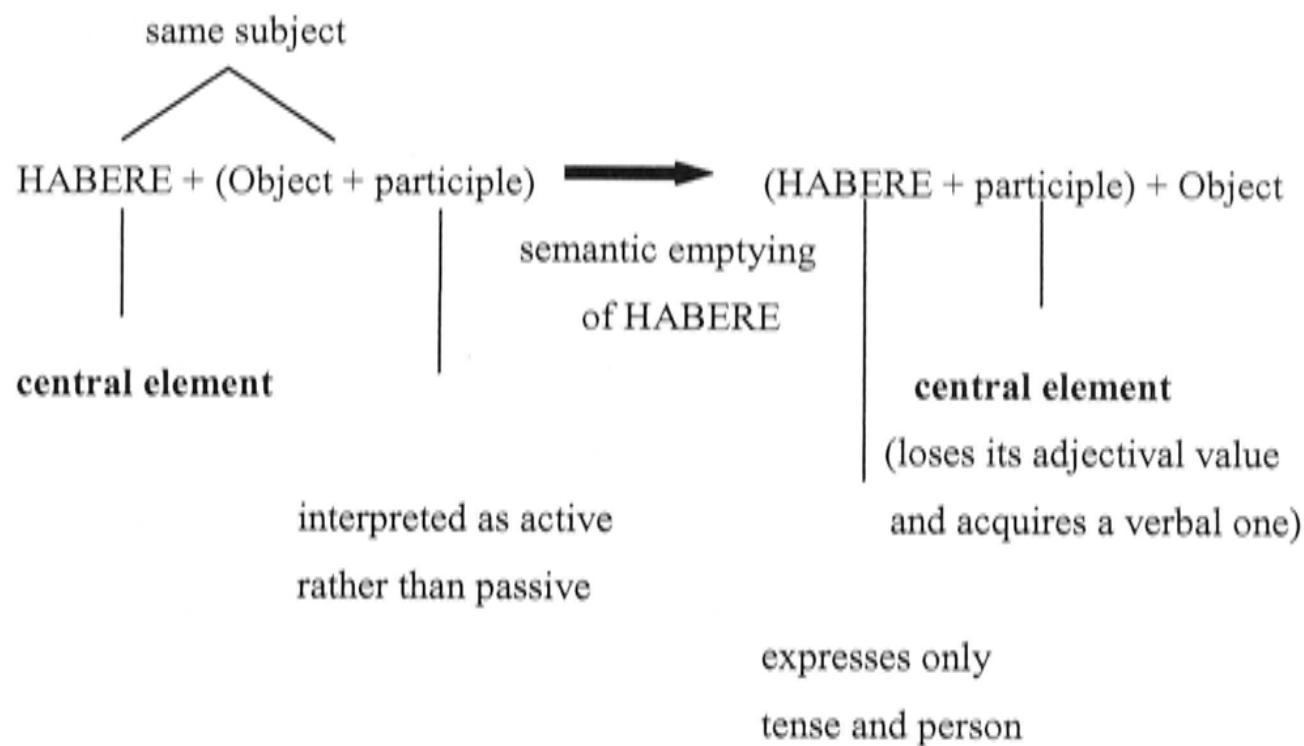
The first sentence raises the question of who wrote the letters. A first meaning, deriving from the co-occurrence of 'have' as a main verb in the first person singular and of a passive participle with a non-identified agent, suggested that the letters that I possess might have been written by someone else. This meaning is given by the fact that the predicate (HABEO) governed its own direct object (LITTERAS), which was determined by a participle (SCRIPTAS) formally agreeing with the object in gender and number (SCRIPTAS – feminine plural). This is what happened in Latin. In Romance languages, the direct object no longer depends on HABERE, but on the combination of HABERE and the past participle. Hence the meaning 'I have written the letters'. In this case, there is no doubt about the person who wrote the letters. The question now is on the action itself and on its object: the participle indicates a property of the object resulting from an anterior action in which it was involved. The participle is thus closer to HABERE, which changes its status of main verb into that of auxiliary, than to the direct object and the agreement is generally lost.

This development from HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS to HABEO SCRIPTUS LITTERAS, accurately described by Vincent (1982) as 'reanalysis', was schematized by Pinkster (1987:196) as:

$$(408) \quad \text{HABERE} + (\text{Object} + \text{participle}) \rightarrow (\text{HABERE} + \text{participle}) + \text{Object}$$

But Pinkster's schema points, by means of parentheses, only to the change in terms of syntactic/semantic grouping. On a larger scale, I suggest the following diagram illustrates the evolution in question:

Figure 4.2



An important element in the historical development of the Compound Past is the frequent coincidence between the subject of HABERE and the subject of the past participle, coincidence which is automatically assumed nowadays. In the beginning, the participle was felt as part of a passive construction with a transitive verb and an object. By the presence of HABERE, the original meaning of the entire sentence pointed to the possession of the result of an action and the central element was HABERE. Since HABERE is gradually semantically emptied, i.e. it is progressively losing its meaning of possession, the predication axis is transferred to the other verbal element of the sentence, the participle, which eventually loses the adjectival value it had in the passive construction and acquires a verbal one within the new sentence. The final structure points thus to the action itself, the participle becoming the central element and HABERE expressing tense and person only. As Salvi points out (1987:231), it is the change from 'I own the result of a past action' to 'I performed that action in the past'. (I will not discuss here which past the construction refers to).

Mention should be made that both constructions from Pinkster's schema are still possible in Modern Romanian, the first one preserving the original Latin meaning and the agreement of the past participle with the direct object:

- (409) Eu am scrisoarea scrisă
 I have:1sg. the letter written:f.sg
 'I have the letter written (either by me or by somebody else)'

and

- (410) Eu am scris scrisoarea
 I have:1sg. written:m.sg the letter
 'I have written the letter'.

(The participle *scris* 'written' has a masculine form in the structure of the Compound Past as the masculine is the basic participial form from which the feminine and the plural are derived.)

Taking into consideration that the participle was originally part of a passive construction, the first sentence can be rewritten as *eu am scrisoarea care este scrisă* 'I have the letter which is written (either by me or by somebody else)', so 'have' is used with its main lexical meaning, that of possession, and governs an object accompanied by a relative clause with a passive predicate. This expanded form, i.e. HABERE + Object + relative pronoun + (ESSE + past participle) - HABEO LITTERAS QUAE SCRIPTAE SUNT, was probably the predecessor of HABERE + (Object + participle) - HABEO LITTERAS SCRIPTAS.

Therefore the change from the Latin construction to the Romance one began at the semantic level and the new meaning imposed a syntactic restructuring which resulted in simplification and conciseness.

To summarize, two important changes took place in the history of the compound perfect from Latin to Romance and they occurred in the following order:

1. The full semantic value of HABERE gradually diminishes, and the degree of union between the two components slowly becomes greater, to the point that we may speak of a unitary paradigm within the indicative mood.
2. HABERE changes in status from full verb to auxiliary verb and the past participle becomes an integral part of the verb phrase, permitting the abandonment of concord in many instances, although the latter change spread slowly and sporadically (and is still not wholly complete today).

As a final stage in the development, the structure came eventually to be used also with intransitive verbs.

What is not really clear among linguists is how BE came to be used as a perfect auxiliary. It has been suggested that the emergence of perfect auxiliaries in Proto-Romance was due to a historical "accident" in Latin relating to the fact that the paradigm of so-called deponent verbs, which had passive morphology and "active" meaning, was deficient. However, in spite of the obvious structural similarity, there is no evidence that the verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary in the present-day Romance languages are the direct descendants of the Latin deponents.

4.3. The origins of the Romance perfect auxiliary BE

4.3.1. The traditional hypothesis

Generally, the question of the origins of BE as perfect auxiliary has been left aside in linguistic accounts investigating the issues of auxiliary selection or of the Compound Past tense in the Romance languages. This situation may probably be explained by the fact that the structures involving BE as perfect auxiliary have not been given enough attention themselves, sometimes being even completely ignored (see Chapter 1 for a discussion on this topic). However, the question did not pass unnoticed for some linguists who acknowledged that the origin of BE as a Romance perfect auxiliary must be addressed and an answer must be provided.

Here is a possible answer to this intriguing question, as presented in three different studies. The studies are presented chronologically in order to emphasize how vigorous the idea that Latin deponents are the source of the Romance perfect auxiliary BE grew up in time.

The first opinion presented here is that of Flobert, as it was formulated in his remarkable study on Latin deponents:

"Finally, and most remarkably, the deponents have left clear traces. If their infectum seems to have disappeared at the beginning of the 8th century, a little before that of the passive, the perfect maintained itself better, and *sometimes still exists*⁵³ (French *naître/être né*). It is their perfect too which, at least in part, is responsible for the auxiliary *être* of certain intransitives and of French reflexive verbs." (1975:703)

⁵³ Flobert's own emphasis.

Flobert's approach to Latin deponents will be discussed in section 4.3.4.2. and various other sections of this chapter. It is though important to mention here that Flobert strongly believes Latin deponents were a very lively category which had a great impact on the Latin verbal system, particularly in the 6th – 8th centuries, and therefore, Flobert emphasizes, it should be only natural for them to have left traces in the Romance languages.

In his study on the development of the auxiliaries HAVE and BE in the Romance languages Vincent (1982) deals with this issue in a Case Grammar framework. Vincent's approach to auxiliary selection and his theory of the Neutral case have been discussed in Chapter 1, section 1.4.3.3.1. He argues that deponents can also be analysed as having the Neutral-subject pattern, an analysis which allows Vincent to claim that they are the forerunners of the Romance Compound Past tense with BE as perfect auxiliary. In talking about the two functions of the *esse* + past participle construction in Classical Latin, he argues that many deponents have the typical movement or change-of-state element of meaning and etymologically deponents go back to the medio-passives. He concludes that:

"The combined effect of these patterns and models is that there is both a formal parallel and a semantic pressure available to favour the development of periphrastic expressions like **ven(u)tum est*." (1982:86)

When he talks about the movement or change-of-state element of meaning, Vincent alludes to the verbal classes most likely to select BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages. The semantics of the Latin deponents will be discussed in section 4.3.2.4.2. of this chapter and it will be shown that they can be classified in a very wide range of semantic classes, some of which do not include any element of movement or change of state. Thus, the semantic criterion in establishing the link between Latin deponents and the Romance verbs choosing BE as perfect auxiliary is not a reliable one. However, it can be argued that the structure of Latin deponents, particularly their *perfectum* forms, may have been a partial model for the Romance Compound Past. The validity of this argument will be discussed in section 4.4.2.4 below.

The last opinion presented here is that of Tuttle, whose study of the spread of *esse* as an auxiliary in Central Romance is based on Vincent's 1982 article. Tuttle argues that

“Since the days of Diez 1844, two Latin sources have been identified for such syntagms (i.e. Romance compound perfects): HABERE with transitive participles and ESSE with deponential or intransitive participles.” (1986:229)

The most interesting aspect of Tuttle’s opinion is that he makes it clear that the idea according to which the Romance perfect auxiliary BE is based on the Latin deponential inflection is not at all a new one, but it has been identified a long time ago and does not need any questioning, as it seems perfectly natural and undeniable.

The following section will try to point to some of the arguments that can be raised against this traditional hypothesis that many linguists took for granted, without testing its validity.

4.3.2. Weaknesses of the traditional hypothesis

The three quotations presented in the previous section indicate that it is generally assumed that the origin of the perfect auxiliary BE in the Romance languages is to be found in the Latin class of deponent verbs. The members of this class are characterized by an active meaning and a passive form, as indicated by their endings, e.g. *loquor* ‘speak’, *sequor* ‘follow’, *patior* ‘suffer’, etc. As it will be discussed in the section 4.3.2.1.2 below, each deponent verb has two series of forms, just like verbs in the passive voice: one synthetic and one analytic (see Table 4.8. presenting the forms of Latin deponent verbs). For the latter, the perfect, pluperfect, and future perfect tenses in the indicative mood and the perfect and pluperfect tenses in the subjunctive mood are formed by the combination of the perfect participle of the main verb with forms of the auxiliary verb *esse* ‘to be’. As the indicative perfect of Latin deponents had the structure *esse* in the present tense plus the perfect participle, some linguists (e.g. Flobert 1975, Vincent 1982, Tuttle 1986) have associated this construction with the Romance compound tenses which make use of the auxiliary BE and concluded that the Romance periphrasis was just a continuation of the Latin one. However, no one has actually demonstrated that there is a direct continuation between the Romance Compound Past (and the other compound tenses) and the class of Latin deponents as such.

The number of deponent verbs was quite significant in Latin – more than one thousand, according to Flobert (1975) (see sections 4.3.3. and 4.4.) – and they belong to all semantic verb classes (see the discussion in section 4.4.1.2.). But the number of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages is rather small and, semantically, they are mainly motion verbs and verbs of change of state (see the section on Sorace 2000 and her Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy in Chapter 1). Modern French, for instance, has a considerably limited number of these verbs, as discussed in Chapter 2, and it is experiencing a continuous process of eliminating the auxiliary BE in favor of HAVE. The history of French shows that this process began a long time ago, as the number of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary was quite large in Old and medieval French (see Chapter 3 for the discussion on this issue). In Modern Italian, on the other hand, there is a larger number of verbs choosing BE and a larger number of factors influencing this selection, such as modal verbs, person or tense (see the section on Italian in Chapter 2).

Assuming the traditional hypothesis that there is a connection between the BE used as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages and the BE from the Latin deponent conjugation, it would be reasonable to expect a relationship between the class of verbs choosing BE in Romance and the Latin class of deponents. Trying to establish the type of this relationship, if any, I have begun by looking at the Latin etymologies of the French verbs that always select BE as perfect auxiliary in Modern French. The dictionary I used for this purpose is the *Hachette Dictionnaire du français* (1987).

Table 4.5:
French verbs that select BE and their Latin roots

| | |
|-----------------------------|---|
| <i>aller</i> ‘to go’ | <i>ire</i> (future and conditional); <i>vadere</i> (present of the indicative); <i>*alare</i> (contested etymology) |
| <i>arriver</i> ‘to arrive’ | Vulgar Latin: <i>*arripare</i> ‘reach the shore’ |
| <i>décéder</i> ‘to die’ | Lat. <i>decedere</i> ‘disappear, die’ |
| <i>devenir</i> ‘to become’ | Lat. <i>devenire</i> ‘arrive’, Vulgar Latin ‘become’ |
| <i>échoir</i> ‘to fall due’ | Vulgar Latin <i>*excadere</i> , Classical Latin <i>excidere</i> |

| | |
|----------------------------------|---|
| <i>entrer</i> ‘to enter’ | Lat. <i>intrare</i> |
| <i>mourir</i> ‘to die’ | Vulgar Latin <i>morire</i> , Classical Latin <i>morior</i> |
| <i>naître</i> ‘to be born’ | Vulgar Latin <i>*nascere</i> , Classical Latin <i>nasci</i> |
| <i>partir</i> ‘to depart, leave’ | Vulgar Latin <i>partire</i> |
| <i>rester</i> ‘to remain’ | Lat. <i>restare</i> |
| <i>venir</i> ‘to come’ | Lat. <i>venire</i> |

From the list of verbs given by Grevisse in *Le Bon Usage* (12th edition, 1988) (on which this table has been built), I have left aside the verbs *sortir* ‘to exit, get out’, and *tomber* ‘to fall’ because of their uncertain origin, and the compound verbs *redevenir* ‘to become again’, *rentrer* ‘to go/come back in’, *repartir* ‘to leave again’, *ressortir* ‘to go/come out (again)’, *retomber* ‘to fall again’, *revenir* ‘to come back’, *survenir* ‘to occur, arise’, and *retourner* ‘to return, turn around’, because they were new developments in French.

A quick look at the Latin etymologies of the French verbs in the table above, shows that only two verbs, namely ‘die’ and ‘be born’, are lexically derived from verbs with a deponent conjugation in Classical Latin, former *media tantum* verbs in Proto-Indo-European. The history of these two verbs will be discussed in section 4.4.2.4 below. Leaving aside the case of ‘die’ and ‘be born’, it is thus evident that, semantically, the majority of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary in Modern French come from regular verbs, most of them intransitive, with a normal synthetic conjugation.

The etymology of the Italian verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary presents a similar situation. Some of these verbs are the counterparts of the French verbs in the table above and they share the same origin: *andare* ‘to go’, *arrivare* ‘to arrive’, *diventare* ‘to become’, *entrare* ‘to enter’, *morire* ‘to die’, *nascere* ‘to be born’, *partire* ‘to leave’, *restare* ‘to remain’, and *venire* ‘to come’. Some other verbs also choosing BE as perfect auxiliary and their etymologies are listed in the table below. The dictionary I used for this purpose is *The Oxford Italian desk dictionary* (1977):

Table 4.6:

Italian verbs that select BE and their Latin roots

| | |
|--|--|
| <i>accadere</i> ‘to happen’ | Lat. <i>accidere</i> (<i>ad</i> + <i>cadēre</i>) |
| <i>cadere</i> ‘to fall’ | Lat. <i>cadēre</i> |
| <i>comparire</i> ‘to appear’ | Lat. <i>compārēre</i> |
| <i>costare</i> ‘to cost’ | Lat. <i>cōstāre</i> (<i>cum</i> + <i>stare</i>) |
| <i>dipendere</i> ‘to depend’ | Lat. <i>dēpendēre</i> |
| <i>essere</i> ‘to be’ | Lat. <i>esse</i> |
| <i>parere</i> ‘to seem’ | Lat. <i>parēre</i> |
| <i>piacere</i> ‘to please’ (and <i>spiacere</i> ‘to displease’) | Lat. <i>placēre</i> |
| <i>rimanere</i> ‘to remain’ | Lat. <i>remanēre</i> (<i>re</i> + <i>manēre</i>) |
| <i>scappare</i> ‘to escape’ | vulgar Lat. * <i>excappare</i> |
| <i>sembrare</i> ‘to seem’ | Lat. <i>similare</i> , vulgar Lat. <i>simulāre</i> |
| <i>stare</i> ‘to stay’ | Lat. <i>stāre</i> |
| <i>succedere</i> ‘to happen’ | Lat. <i>succēdēre</i> |
| <i>uscire</i> ‘to go out’ (and <i>riuscire</i> ‘to succeed’) | Lat. <i>exire</i> (<i>ex</i> + <i>īre</i>) |

As in the case of the French verbs from Table 4.1, Italian verbs are no exception to the rule, that is all the verbs choosing BE as perfect auxiliary (except ‘die’ and ‘be born’) come from regular Latin verbs and not from deponents.

Another issue that needs to be mentioned here is that of reflexive verbs. Unlike their counterparts in the Germanic languages, reflexive verbs in the Romance languages displaying auxiliary selection choose BE as perfect auxiliary, as in the following examples from French:

- (411) *Il s’est lavé* ‘he has washed himself’
 Il s’est arrêté ‘he has stopped’
 Il s’est réveillé ‘he has waken up’

The connection between this class of verbs and Latin deponents is uncertain, as according to Flobert reflexive deponents were very rare in Latin (1975:392)

because the deponent markers were incompatible with the reflexive marker. For a discussion of Old Italian reflexives and their perfect auxiliary see Maiden (1995:155).

The arguments brought so far against the traditional hypothesis involved finding Latin correspondents for different aspects of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. In the remaining of this chapter I will approach the problem from the reverse perspective, i.e. I will analyse Latin deponents and try to establish their connections to the Romance verbal system in general. The approach will basically be a historical one, including details referring both to the Proto-Indo-European origin of Latin deponents and to their development during the history of the Latin language.

4.3.3. Latin deponent verbs

The class of deponent verbs is probably one of the most problematic issues of Latin grammar. Descendants of the Indo-European middle voice, also a challenging category, Latin deponents are characterized by an inflection similar to that of the passive voice and by a very oscillating behaviour which finally led to their complete extinction. This section will analyse their general structural features. Their historical evolution throughout the history of the Latin language will be discussed in section 4.4.2. below.

4.3.3.1. Definition

It is generally accepted that the Latin deponents continue the group of Indo-European verbs inflected only in the middle voice, i.e. *media tantum*. Benveniste (1966:171), as well as Monteil (1970:261), noticed that the most frequently used Latin deponents belong to the semantic meanings covered by those *media tantum*: *nascor* 'I am born', *morior* 'I die', *sequor* 'I follow', *potior* 'I possess', *fungor* 'I perform (as a duty)', *patior* 'I suffer', *mentior* 'I lie', *medeor* 'I cure', *loquor* 'I speak'.

Traditional Latin grammars generally define deponents as verbs with passive forms and active meaning: a verb like *hortor* 'I exhort' clearly shows a passive ending, but its meaning has nothing in common with the passive voice. This plain definition is based on the fact that deponent verbs have a deficient conjugation, i.e. they only have passive forms built up on the same model as passive forms of regular

verbs. Compare the verbs *amare* ‘love’ (regular verb) and *loquor* ‘speak’ (deponent) in the table below. The first two columns show the first person singular forms for the present and perfect indicative in the active and passive voices and the deponent conjugation, whereas the last column lists the infinitive forms for the same categories:

Table 4.7

Comparison between the active voice, the passive voice, and the deponent inflection

| | Present Indicative | Perfect Indicative | Infinitive |
|----------|--------------------------|---------------------------------|-------------------------|
| Active | <i>amo</i> ‘I love’ | <i>amavi</i> ‘I loved’ | <i>amare</i> ‘love’ |
| Passive | <i>amor</i> ‘I am loved’ | <i>amatus sum</i> ‘I was loved’ | <i>amari</i> ‘be loved’ |
| Deponent | <i>loquor</i> ‘I speak’ | <i>locutus sum</i> ‘I spoke’ | <i>loquori</i> ‘speak’ |

Latin grammarians were the first to identify the problems raised by deponent verbs. It is believed the term *dēpōnēns* (from *dēpōnēre* ‘put away’) first appeared in Latin grammars in the 3rd century AD, but its creator is unfortunately not known (cf. Flobert 1975: XI). For a detailed history of the term *dēpōnēns*, see Flobert (1975:21-30), who investigates the place that deponent verbs were given in ancient grammars and their relationship to other verbal classes. The major issue that preoccupied Latin grammarians for a very long period was the question of voice and, following the example of their Greek colleagues, they launched a lively debate on this topic, mainly concerned with the number of verbal voices in Latin. The numbers vary from 2, the classical active and passive voices, with the active having *prima positio* (Varro’s grammar), to 9 (in Sacerdos’ grammar), namely active, passive, neuter, common, deponent, inchoative, defective, frequentative, and impersonal (apud Flobert 1975:14-9). It is interesting to see that the deponents came to be considered a separate voice, but this is not surprising if one takes into account the predominant morphological penchant of Latin grammars.

In the end, the place of the deponent was halfway between the active and the passive voices and many linguists have noted its oddness within the Latin verbal system. Meillet (1928:257) for instance defined the deponent as a type of useless complication which was doomed to disappear. But before analysing why the

deponents represent such a complex category and why they disappeared, I will briefly sketch out their structure.

4.3.3.2. Structure

As noted in the previous section, the deponent inflection follows the inflection of regular verbs in the passive voice. Thus, the tenses of the infectum are synthetic, using the passive endings, while the tenses of the perfectum are analytically formed by the combination of the past participle⁵⁴ and the forms of the verb *esse* ‘be’.

Table 4.8
The finite forms of the Latin deponent verb *hortor* ‘exhort’

| | Present | Imperfect | Future | Perfect | Pluperfect | Future Perfect |
|-------------|---|---|--|---|--|---|
| Indicative | hortor hortāris hortātur hortāmur hortāminī hortāntur | hortābar hortābāris hortābātur hortābāmur hortābāminī hortābāntur | hortābor hortāberis hortābitur hortābimur hortābiminī hortābūntur | hortātus sum hortātus es hortātus est hortātī sumus hortātī estis hortātī sunt | hortātus eram hortātus erās hortātus erat hortātī erāmus hortātī erātis hortātī erant | hortātus erō hortātus eris hortātus erit hortātī erimus hortātī eritis hortātī erunt |
| Subjunctive | Present horter hortēris hortētur hortēmur hortēminī hortēntur | Imperfect hortārer hortārēris hortārētur hortārēmur hortārēminī hortārēntur | | Perfect hortātus sim hortātus sis hortātus sit hortātī simus hortātī sitis hortātī sint | Pluperfect hortātus essem hortātus essēs hortātus esset hortātī essemus hortātī essētis hortātī essent | |

For a comparison between regular verbs and deponent verbs, the following tables show the first person singular forms for the verb *amare* ‘love’ in the active and passive voices and for the deponent verb *hortari* ‘exhort’ in the tenses of the indicative and subjunctive moods.

⁵⁴ Some grammars prefer the term ‘perfect passive participle’.

Table 4.9

Regular and deponent verbs in the Indicative mood

| Tense | Active | Passive | Deponent |
|----------------|-----------------|--------------------|----------------------|
| Present | <i>amō</i> | <i>amor</i> | <i>hortor</i> |
| Imperfect | <i>amābam</i> | <i>amābar</i> | <i>hortābar</i> |
| Future | <i>amābō</i> | <i>amābor</i> | <i>hortābor</i> |
| Perfect | <i>amāvī</i> | <i>amātus sum</i> | <i>hortātus sum</i> |
| Pluperfect | <i>amāveram</i> | <i>amātus eram</i> | <i>hortātus eram</i> |
| Future Perfect | <i>amāverō</i> | <i>amātus erō</i> | <i>hortātus erō</i> |

Table 4.10:

Regular and deponent verbs in the Subjunctive mood

| Tense | Active | Passive | Deponent |
|------------|------------------|---------------------|-----------------------|
| Present | <i>amem</i> | <i>amer</i> | <i>horter</i> |
| Imperfect | <i>amārem</i> | <i>amārer</i> | <i>hortārer</i> |
| Perfect | <i>amāverim</i> | <i>amātus sim</i> | <i>hortātus sim</i> |
| Pluperfect | <i>amāvissem</i> | <i>amātus essem</i> | <i>hortātus essem</i> |

The forms in the table above show the similarity in the endings of the passive voice and those of deponent verbs. Moreover, there is also similarity in the way compound tenses are formed, i.e. with the auxiliary *esse* in the same tense and mood and with a past participle which agrees in gender and number with the subject.

4.3.4. Modern approaches to Latin deponents

The problem of Latin deponents has been ignored for a very long time. Indo-Europeanists have regarded this category of verbs as a direct continuation of the PIE middle voice and considered it important for their study only in terms of the *-r* endings. Latinists have perceived deponents as an anomalous class of verbs and treated them only in terms of their inflection. Romanists have not shown any interest in deponents as this class of verbs is not represented in any Romance language. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that there are not too many accounts of Latin deponents. This section will review the only two studies on Latin deponents I could find. They are both from the 1970's, therefore not that recent, and they are

interesting in that they approach the problem from different perspectives: one is a Case Grammar approach to the issue of Latin voices (Baldi 1973), and the other is an impressive corpus-based study (Flobert 1975).

4.3.4.1. Baldi (1973)

Written in a Case Grammar framework, Baldi's doctoral thesis is built up on the fundamental idea that the Latin verb system was one with three synchronically productive voices: active, passive, and middle. Within this context, the Latin middle voice, acknowledged as a direct descendant from the PIE middle voice, is defined as a synchronically productive verbal category, identified as using a system of covert reflexivity. Baldi's theory of voice, as well as the classes of middles he has identified in Latin has been discussed above (section 4.3.1.3.1).

The reason why Baldi considers the middle voice a characteristic of the Latin verbal system is that *-r* marked forms (traditionally labeled as 'deponent' in Latin grammars) are derived from the PIE middle voice and that some of them may be given a middle interpretation. In Baldi's terminology, *-r* marked forms are middle forms. The exception to the rule is represented by the deponent verbs. Despite their formal similarity and common origin, the deponents represent a different verbal class and Baldi defines them as "*-r* forms which do not exhibit the reflexive interpretation, regardless of their origins and historical development " (1973:109).

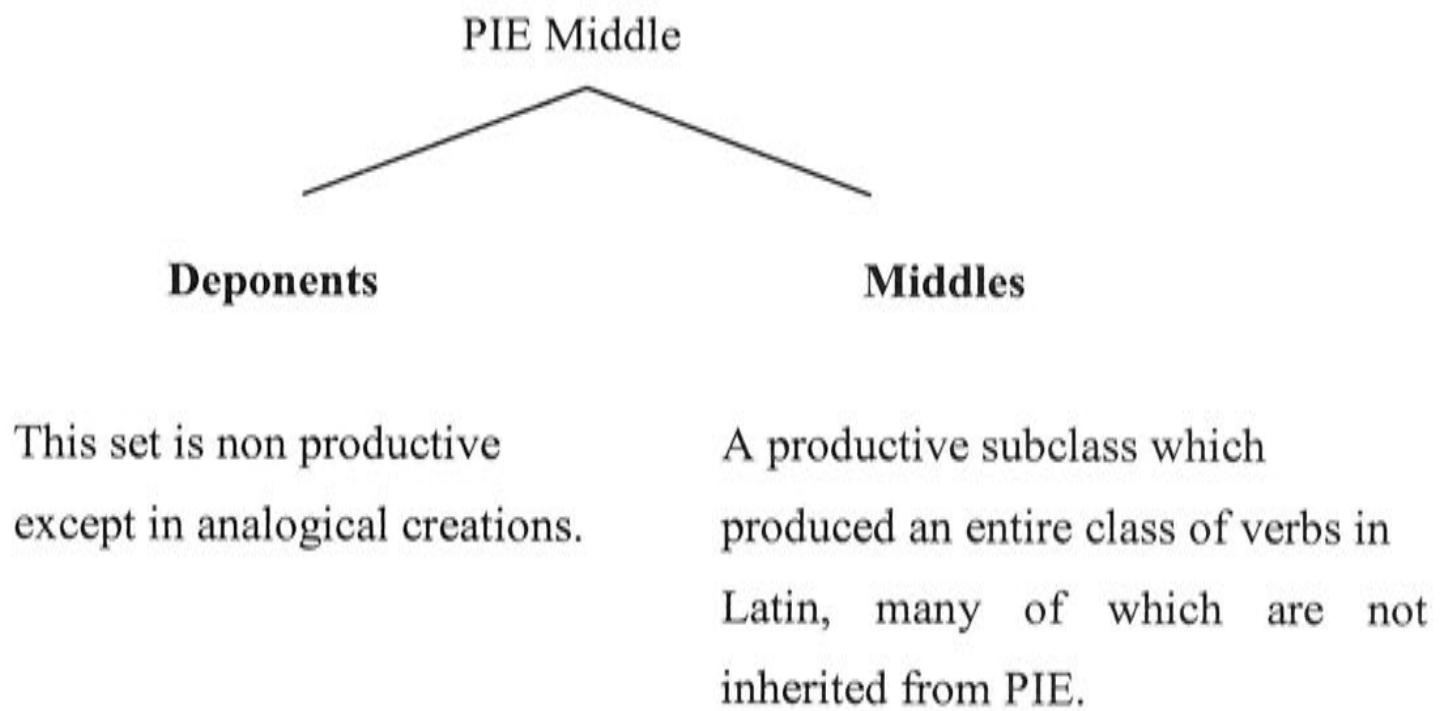
In discussing the importance of their etymologies, Baldi (1973:108) suggests that the 'true' deponents in Latin, from a strictly synchronic perspective, belong to either of the following two classes:

1. verbs of different semantic content in the proto-language whose meaning has evolved to such a degree as to place the reasons for its medio-passive form beyond our grasp, i.e. verbs whose meanings are extended or derived older meanings which were perhaps 'eligible' as *media tantum* in PIE, but cannot be interpreted as synchronically middle in Latin.
2. verbs which generalized the covert Benefactive or Experiencer subcategorization to such a degree as to eradicate the active voice paradigm, even though this reflexive interpretation is no longer discernible, or even permissible, in the Latin reflexes of the verbs.

The difference between Latin deponent and middle verbs also lies in their output in the language. The following diagram points to the common PIE origin of deponents and middles in Latin and emphasizes the productivity of each class of verbs (Baldi 1973:110):

Figure 4.3

A diagram intended to account for the deponents and middles in Latin:



Despite their similarity in structure, the two classes differ in terms of productivity: middles verbs are generally productive, whereas deponents are not. Baldi argues that middles have maintained their *-r* form because it is the surface marker of covert reflexivity, while the deponents have maintained it because they have inherited it from an earlier stage. Besides, many deponents are often found with form fluctuating between *-o* and *-or* (i.e. between an active and a passive form): *contemplo: contemplor*. Baldi appreciates this fluctuation as a matter of simple paradigmatic leveling where the two forms were competing each other. He also believes that this process must have been completed by the time of Proto-Romance, since no *-r* forms have survived into the Romance languages.

Baldi's conclusion (p.109) is that only those *-r* forms which do not have a reflexive interpretation, regardless of their origins or historical development, can be classified as deponents. They form a nonproductive category and have maintained the *-r* form because they inherited it from an earlier period, unlike middles, which maintained the *-r* form because this is the marker of covert reflexivity. But Latin middles are direct descendants from PIE middles and they have also inherited the *-r*

ending, so the separation line between middles and deponents is not that clear. Throughout his thesis Baldi strongly supports the theory of a middle voice in Latin and focuses especially on defining the class of middle verbs, the deponents being just an example of what middles are not.

4.3.4.2. Flobert (1975)

Two years later appears another doctoral dissertation (and the last work, to the best of my knowledge) on Latin deponents. Flobert (1975) is an impressive corpus-based study of Latin deponents from their origin up to the age of Charlemagne (the 8th century AD). The work of a lexicographer, this study makes an inventory of deponent verbs and of verbs having any connection with deponents for a period that spans over a thousand years. This huge period has been divided into twelve stages, each of them focusing on a major Latin writer or a historical period. The first stage is the age of Plautus (around the 2nd century BC), which is also considered the beginning of the decline in Latin deponents. Each stage is accompanied by statistics pertaining to the number of deponent verbs used in that particular stage and to the number of deponents used by each author. A final chronological table of occurrences is attached at the end of the study.

Beside the corpus of Latin deponent verbs organized chronologically, Flobert has also included in his work some theoretical considerations related to the position of deponent verbs within the Latin verbal system, their origin, structure, and development. After reviewing the approaches of Latin grammarians to this topic, Flobert rewrites the general opinion according to which deponents are a subclass of *communia* verbs, i.e. verb with a passive form which have a double function, active and passive.⁵⁵ Flobert considers that *communia* is a subclass of deponents, defined as a mixed paradigm in which passive endings are complemented by active endings. It is clear that this definition is a synchronic one, based on the entire corpus, as Flobert classifies as deponent all verbs touched by the “deponent phenomenon”.⁵⁶

In an attempt to find the place of deponents within the Latin verb, special attention is paid to the category of voice. Flobert totally rejects any claims favoring a

⁵⁵ Deponent verbs preserved only the active function.

⁵⁶ In Flobert’s view, a deponent verb is not opposed functionally, but only morphologically, to an active verb, except for the instances when a diachronic mutation has taken place, i.e. deponentization or repassivization (1975:35).

middle voice in Latin,⁵⁷ as well as any association between the notions of active and transitive, on the one hand, and middle and intransitive on the other.

The major shortcoming of this otherwise exciting work is that, in following strictly the chronological order, it makes no distinction of the type of language used by the authors studied by Flobert, i.e. educated Latin and popular Latin are put together in the analysis of deponent verbs. Trying to prove that Latin deponents were not at all a moribund category, Flobert constantly emphasizes their productivity and frequency throughout his study and builds up an extraordinary number of comparative tables and statistics based on a selection of literary works. Some of these data will be discussed in section 4.3.2.5 below.

According to Flobert, deponents represent 7% of the verb tokens in a text. Their importance is shown by the fact that they were very extensively used by Latin authors, i.e. large works may contain between 200 and 300 deponent verbs. Mention should be made that Flobert includes in these figures all verbs “touched by the deponent phenomenon”, that is both active verbs which may take up a deponent conjugation and newly created deponents present only in a particular literary work (see the section 4.3.2.5 discussing the behaviour of deponents). The total comes at around 1600 tokens of verbs which have been in contact with the “deponent phenomenon”. This figure includes 884 deponents (535 whose dates of creation are attested – according to Flobert), 586 deponent variants, semi-deponents (i.e. verbs such as *audeō*, *audēre*, *ausus sum* ‘dare’, which form their perfect as deponents do), and neo-deponents (i.e. passives in the process of deponentization).⁵⁸

But these figures are calculated on the basis of the general development of Latin deponents over 10 centuries. Much more interesting are the specific figures for each of the twelve literary periods identified by Flobert in his work. Thus, for the first period (2nd century BC), Flobert registered 270 deponents and 14 deponent variants, whereas the last period counts 76 deponents and 99 deponent variants, a situation totally different from the original one. The comparison of these figures (1975:509) is very useful for a general overview of the historical development of Latin deponents and it will be analysed in section 4.3.2.5 below.

⁵⁷ Flobert makes no reference to Baldi’s 1973 study, which he was probably not aware of.

⁵⁸ Deponentization is defined as the process by which an active verb (e.g. *cuncto* ‘I hesitate’ > *cunctor*, *certo* ‘I fight’ > *certor*) or a passive verb (e.g. *complector* ‘I embrace’, *feneror* ‘I lend on interest’) are used in the deponent inflection (Flobert 1975:34).

These statistics led Flobert to conclude that the general idea according to which Latin deponents start disappearing from the age of Plautus and finally adopt an active inflection by the 8th century AD is false. Instead, Flobert suggests a parallel evolution of deponent verbs used with active endings and of active verbs turned into deponents which began in the 6th century and this process developed at high speed, reaching its climax at the end of the 8th century. He claims that around 750 AD all deponents also had active forms in the *infectum* and that there was a permanent confusion between deponent and active forms. As the next century witnessed the disappearance of the synthetic passive voice, i.e. the disappearance of the *-r* endings, there was no reason for the deponent forms to survive.

The merit of this remarkable work is to have revealed through hundreds of examples the fluctuating behaviour of deponent verbs in the history of the Latin language. This fluctuation was also specific to deponents in other languages, such as Old Irish, and the denouement was in all cases the same: total extinction. However, as mention earlier in section 4.1.1, Flobert believes there is a relationship between the Latin deponent and the Romance (French) Compound Past.

4.3.5. Deponent verbs in other languages

Latin was not the only Indo-European language to have a class of deponent verbs. The PIE middle voice has had successors in other languages as well, such as Old Irish, for example. There are not too many grammars of Old Irish, but they all recognize the existence of two voices in Old Irish: namely, active and passive, and, besides, the existence of two types of inflection within the active voice: active and deponent. Old Irish deponents, attested in the earliest texts, cannot be defined as ‘verbs with passive forms and active meaning’, as can their Latin counterparts. The term ‘deponent’ was borrowed from Latin grammarians to define a class of verbs which shared common features with Latin deponents: origin, development, and disappearance.

It is clear from the very beginning that the situation of Old Irish deponents is not the same as that of Latin deponents. Moreover, active and deponent verbs in Old Irish share common endings for the imperfect indicative, perfect subjunctive and perfect future, for the 2nd person plural of all moods and tenses and in the 3rd person singular imperative (cf. Thurneysen 1946:328). McCone (1987:76) appreciates that

the difference between the active inflection and the deponent inflection was merely lexical and that it had no semantic implication at all.

As the deponent inflection is classified as a category of the active voice and as deponents have different endings from the passive voice, it is no wonder that Old Irish deponents may undergo passivization (see table 4.9. above), unlike Latin deponents, which already have passive endings.

In terms of structure, the most common type of deponents are made from adjectives usually with the highly productive denominative suffix *-(a)ig-* (McCone 1987:77) and have causative or factitive meaning, such as ‘make tall’ and ‘cause to sit’ = ‘place’ (R&W Lehmann 1975:124).

The deponent inflection was already defective in early Old Irish. Thurneysen (1946:328) argues that verbs in *-ugur*, *-igur* were more often active than deponent in inflection. According to McCone (1987:76), many verbs alternated between basic active inflection in some moods and tenses and deponent inflection in others. Some examples include *(ro)-cluínethar* ‘hears’, *ad:cí* ‘sees’, and *con:oi* ‘protects’. This evidence proves that the deponent inflection in Old Irish gradually dies out and is replaced by active inflection. Meillet (1928:257) believes this process must have been completed by the 10th century AD.

As in the case of Latin deponents, Old Irish deponents share the ending *-r* in all persons, except the second person plural. However, unlike in Latin, the endings of deponent verbs in Old Irish are not at all similar to those of the passive voice. They only share the *-r* ending. This is probably an explanation of the fact that deponent verbs can be passivized in Old Irish: *suidigidir* ‘places’ vs. *suidigthir* ‘is placed’.

This succinct overview of the deponent inflection in Old Irish was meant as a comparison with its Latin counterpart and has led to the following conclusion: the evolution of Old Irish deponent verbs was parallel to that of Latin deponents. Old Irish and Latin deponents share the same origin (i.e. PIE middle voice), the same marker (the *-r* ending), they experienced the same oscillating behaviour between the active and deponent inflections, which finally led to total extinction.

After explaining what deponents are and what their structure is, it would be interesting to take a closer look at how the issue of Latin deponent verbs has been perceived in modern times.

4.3.6. The origins of Latin deponents

The major aim of this chapter is to investigate the validity of the claim that there is a relationship between the Romance perfect auxiliary BE and the auxiliary from the analytic conjugation of the Latin deponent verbs and, in case such a relationship exists, establish its origin and development. The history of Latin deponent verbs is not very well documented (apart from the quite old study of Flobert 1975), but it is generally acknowledged that they come from the Indo-European middle voice.

This section will outline the structure of the Proto-Indo-European (PIE) verbal system, with special attention to the grammatical category of voice in general, and of middle voice in particular.

4.3.6.1. The PIE verbal system

Indo-Europeanists have agreed that the reconstruction of the PIE verb was more difficult than that of the noun because of the differences that exist within the verbal systems of the IE languages. Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that PIE, a language of the inflecting type, similar to Latin, Greek, Slavic, Sanskrit, and Lithuanian, had in its late stages a verbal system characterized by two voices, active and middle; four moods: indicative, optative, subjunctive, and imperative; from two tenses (past and non-past) in the earlier stages to six tenses developing later, and three aspectual distinctions: perfective, imperfective, and aorist. Besides, there are person (first, second, and third) and number (singular, plural, and dual) distinctions marked by suffixes, and many derivative verbal structures which are non-finite, e.g. several infinitives, participial formations, gerunds, gerundives, supines, and other verbal nouns.

The general structure of the late Indo-European verb was schematized by Baldi (1999:75) as follows:⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Baldi's schema of the IE verbal system is actually based on that of Szemerényi (1970 [1989]:245).

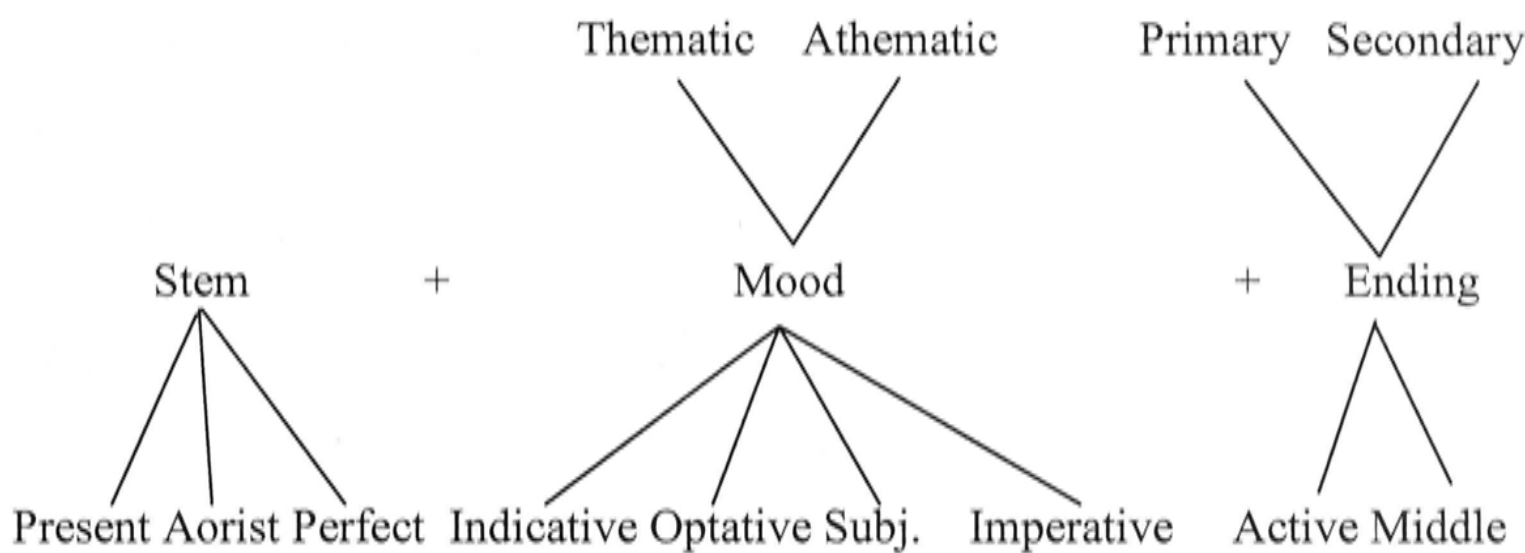


Figure 4.4:
The Indo-European verbal system

Voices, tense stems and moods were identified according to the different sets of endings, of which ‘primary’ and ‘secondary’ were the most important. The indicative is sometimes marked by a vowel suffix (thematic class), as in Lat. *rud-i-t* ‘he cries’, and sometimes not (athematic class), e.g. Lat. *es-t* ‘he is’.

The early IE system of spatio-temporal relations was binary, based on the opposition ‘now-here: not-now-here’. Throughout most of the IE period, tense and the time of the action were not indicated by means of verbal affixes, but by means of particles or adverbs or were implicit in the aspects of verb forms (cf. Lehmann 1974:139). It was only in late IE and the early dialects that the features of tense became predominant, with inflectional endings marking temporal distinctions (Lehmann 1974: 189-90).

But the original PIE verb was based on aspectual rather than temporal relations (cf. Baldi 1999:74). The aspectual system, represented by three different verbal stems (the present, the perfect, and the aorist), developed into a tense-based system in many IE languages. The present (or imperfective aspect) defines repeated and continuing actions, or actions going on in the present: Lat. *sum* ‘I am’ or *fert* ‘X carries’. The perfect (or perfective aspect) stem describes some accomplished process or state pertaining to the subject of the verb, cf. Skt. *véda* ‘I know’. The aorist (or punctual aspect) stem identifies processes without reference to their duration, e.g. Skt. *ádāt* ‘X gave’.

The next section of this study concerns the IE voice distinction between active voice and middle voice, paying special attention to the middle in terms of origins, endings, and semantics.

4.3.6.2. Active and Middle

It is generally agreed that late PIE verbal system clearly shows two voice categories: an active and a middle (also called mediopassive⁶⁰), marked by different inflectional endings: Skt. *yájati* (active voice) and *yájate* (middle voice), meaning ‘sacrifies, worships, venerates, performs a rite’. When the verb is in the active voice, the action is external to the subject and the subject is typically the agent, but it is not directly affected by the action:

(412) *yájati* ‘X makes a sacrifice’.

This active form would be used of a priest, or of a deity cast in the role of mediator. When the verb is in the middle voice, the subject is patient or beneficiary:

(413) *yájate* ‘X makes a sacrifice on his own behalf’,

with the result of the action returning to the agent. This middle form would be used of the worshipper himself. As in the passive voice, the action expressed by a verb in the middle voice is internal to the subject. The middle expresses the idea of an activity affecting the subject or “for actions in which the subject was intimately concerned” (Sihler 1995:448), e.g. somebody doing something to oneself, for one’s own pleasure or benefit (or to one’s own detriment), reciprocally (with dual or plural agents), or of the grammatical subject being the logical object of the sentence (as in typical passive constructions). It is actually from the PIE middle that the passive voice developed as a counterpart to the active voice later in IE languages and, in general, it is either the original middle or the latter passive function that was preserved in the various IE languages.

In discussing the differences between the active and middle voices in IE, Benveniste (1950:170) brings into discussion the distinction mentioned by Panini (ca

⁶⁰ According to Kurylowicz (1931:74), the term mediopassive, used with reference to IE, implies a secondary middle function besides the primary passive one.

500 BC) between *parasmaipada* and *atmanepada*, that is between ‘word for another’ and ‘word for oneself’. These are the names of the active voice and middle voice, respectively, consecrated by the Sanskrit grammar, which actually maintained the verbal system of the parent language.⁶¹

4.3.6.3. The term ‘middle’

The term ‘middle’ has been applied to a wide range of extremely diverse grammatical phenomena, both synchronically as well as diachronically. Originally, it was applied by grammarians to designate an inflectional category of the Classical Greek verb defined in terms of both form, i.e. a paradigmatic set of verb suffixes, and function, i.e. semantically. For example:

(414) *paraskeuáz-ein* ‘prepare’ (active) vs.

(415) *paraskeuáz-esthai* ‘prepare (for) oneself’ (middle) (cf. Bakker 1994:24).

In current linguistic research, the term ‘middle’ has been used to designate one or more of the following phenomena (cf. Manney (2000:16)):

1. a verbal inflectional class, like that of the Classical Greek verbal system, whose members contrast systematically, both morphosyntactically and semantically, with those of the active inflectional class (Klaiman 1991, Manney 2000);
2. a semantic domain (indicating that “the ‘action’ or ‘state’ affects the subject of the verb and his interests”, cf. Lyons 1969:337), which can be expressed by a number of diverse morphosyntactic devices, including, but not limited to, an attenuated form of the primary reflexive strategy (Kemmer 1993);
3. the derived member of a pair which typically occurs in a particular type of intransitivity alternation, such as *I melted the butter* vs *The butter **melted*** (Keyser & Roeper 1984, Fagan 1992).

Probably because of the variety of phenomena to which the term ‘middle’ has been applied, this term has often been replaced by others (“medium-passive”,

⁶¹ Cf. Lehmann (1993:161), citing Bopp (1816).

“patient-subject construction”, “quasi-reflexive”, “pseudo-reflexive”, “neuter”, etc.) in order to stress the distinctiveness of the structures they describe. This variety of terms is also reflected in the different uses of the middle. In the case of Indo-European, it is generally believed that the middle had three primary uses, summarized by Lehmann (1993:184) as follows:

1. indication of an action that affects the subject, usually beneficially, e.g. Skt. *bhunkté* ‘become warm’;
2. reflexive, e.g. Greek *théromai* ‘warm oneself’; and
3. reciprocal, as in Skt. *spárdhate* ‘quarrel with one another’.

The use of the term ‘middle’ in the sections of this chapter corresponds to this generally acknowledged view.

4.3.6.4. Verbal semantics in early PIE

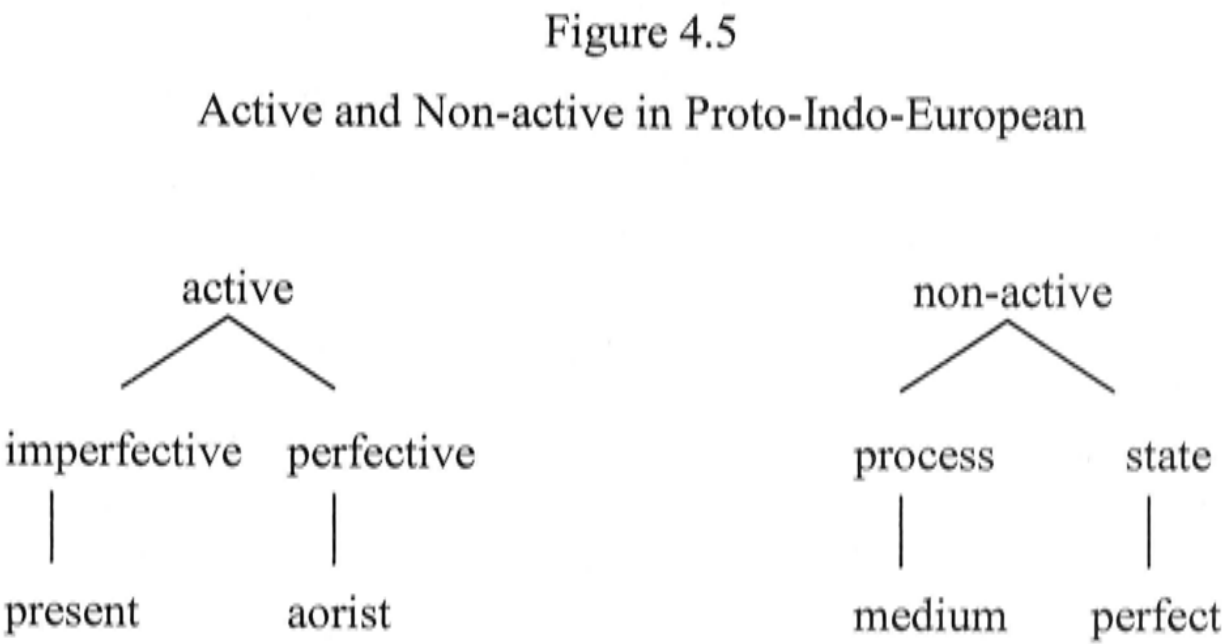
Recent research into the IE verbal system (Schmidt (1979), Gamkrelidze-Ivanov (1995), Kurzová (1993), Lehmann (1993), and Baldi (1999)) has supported the idea that the primitive voice distinction in early PIE was “fundamental and superior [i.e. prior to (LD)] to the aspectual distinction of present/imperfective vs. aorist/perfective” (Kurzová (1993:115)). Instead, the voice distinction was between active and non-active (or inactive) verb classes.⁶² In this view, PIE verbs were marked as denoting actions (active verbs) or states and processes (non-active verbs). Active verbs designate voluntary actions such as ‘run’, ‘put’, ‘throw’, which are attributed to an external agent (typically the subject) and are oriented toward an external goal. Non-active verbs, on the other hand, indicate states or involuntary actions and processes such as ‘know’, ‘shine’ or ‘think’ which are not ascribed to external agents. Their subject is usually the experiencer or the beneficiary. The two categories of verbs had separate inflections in early PIE.

This distribution of verb classes in PIE is generally accepted among linguists, sometimes with differences in terminology. Neu (1985), for instance, assumes two categories of PIE verbs labeled as *Aktivum* (“form of action”) and *Perfektum* (“form

⁶² Lehmann (1993:214) distinguishes a third verbal class, that of affective verbs, which correspond to impersonal verbs in the later languages which express meanings such as ‘it is painful’, ‘it is a matter of shame’, or ‘it is cold’.

of state”). Sihler (1995:445) also identifies two types of PIE verbs, called *eventive* and *stative*. The first class, much larger than the latter, included things that happen, arrive at conclusions, bring about or undergo changes, and so on: ‘learn’, ‘fly’, ‘throw’, ‘get full’, ‘look for’, ‘find’, ‘kill’, ‘break’, ‘die’. The latter type denoted states, such as ‘know’, ‘remember’, ‘be afraid’, ‘prevail’, ‘hate’, ‘be dead’, ‘be aware’. Sihler’s classification goes on, with eventive verbs subdivided into punctual and durative. This division is mainly based on the meaning of the verb itself: ‘look for’ or ‘travel’ or ‘carve’ are inherently durative; ‘find’ or ‘arrive’ or ‘stab’ are essentially punctual.

Kurzová (1993) has also tried to determine the subclasses of this active – non-active distinction in order to identify the relationships between the original PIE lexical classes and the IE inflectional categories. She argues that the PIE active verbs expressed both imperfective and perfective actions, the imperfective being the predecessor of the inflectional category of present and the perfective the predecessor of the aorist. The non-active class, including verbs denoting states and processes, was not only a predecessor of the perfect, but also of the middle. The figure below (apud Kurzová (1993:118)) summarizes these relationships:



The second line in the figure above contains the subclasses of active and non-active verbs, while the third line lists the inflectional categories which could be seen as the most direct and basic successors of the respective subclasses. It is the evolution of the PIE non-active class that is of interest for the purpose of this study as it is the descendant of the IE middle voice.

4.3.6.5. The semantics of the middle

As mentioned above, the middle in PIE represents the verbal category in which the action is being performed for the benefit or interest of the subject, i.e. agent, who may also be intensively involved in the action. Besides, the middle was frequently identified as a reflexive category and it is well known that the uses of the Greek middle are remarkably comparable to the uses of the reflexive in the modern European languages.

Due to the large number of different meanings covered by the middle voice, linguists have often semantically classified this category into several, traditionally called “uses”. Typically, each use is given a label intended to capture its semantic essence. See for example Smyth 1920 for a semantic classification of the uses of Greek middles.

In an excellent study on the semantics of the middle voice, Kemmer (1993) advances the idea that the middle is a grammatical category pertaining to a particular semantic-pragmatic domain and it includes, besides the traditional voice categories of active and passive, the semantic category of transitivity. The fundamental idea that underlies Kemmer’s thesis is that there is an important semantic property of the middle, termed as the **relative elaboration of events** (1993:73; 1994:181), which “is the parameter along which the reflexive and the middle can be situated as semantic categories intermediate in transitivity between one-participant and two-participant events, and which in addition differentiates reflexive and middle from one another” (Kemmer 1994:181).

Studying data from languages of different genetic and areal affiliations, Kemmer (1993:16-9) has identified eleven specific semantically-defined verb classes of middle verbs. These classes are exemplified below:

1. grooming or body care (typically verbs of washing and getting dressed): Lat. *lavor* ‘wash’, Bahasa Indonesia *berdandan* ‘get dressed’
2. nontranslational motion (verbs of moving the body without change in overall position, such as twisting, turning, bending, leaning, etc.): Lat. *revertor* ‘turn’, Classical Greek *trépesthai* ‘turn’
3. change in body posture (motion with reference to change in body configuration and with fixed locational endpoint, i.e. verbs of lying down,

- sitting down, standing up): Germ. *sich hinlegen* 'lie down', Bahasa Indonesia *berlutut* 'kneel down'
4. indirect middle (actions in which the agent is also a recipient or beneficiary): Classical Greek *ktâ-sthai* 'acquire for oneself', Turkish *edin* 'acquire'
 5. naturally reciprocal events (verbs in which the relationship between two participants is usually or necessarily mutual or reciprocal): Lat. *amplector* 'embrace', Old Norse *hittask* 'meet'
 6. translational motion (verbs of going, coming, walking, flying, swimming, running, etc.): Classical Greek *péte-sthai* 'fly', Old Norse *gangask* 'go, leave'
 7. emotion middle (verbs of emotional reaction, like being angry, frightened, sad, happy, etc.): Lat. *irascor* 'be angry', Hungarian *bánkod* 'grieve, mourn'
 8. emotive speech actions (verbs of complaining, cursing, regretting, lamenting, etc.): Lat. *queror* 'complain', German *sich beschweren* 'complain'
 9. other speech actions (usually with emotional overtones): Lat. *fateor* 'confess', Hungarian *dicseked* 'boast'
 10. cognition middle (verbs of mental state or process, like thinking, meditating, remembering, forgetting, supposing, imagining, considering, etc.): Lat. *meditor* 'ponder, meditate', Bahasa Indonesia *berpikir* 'be cogitating'
 11. spontaneous events (verbs of rotting, growing, drying out, falling apart, evaporating, spinning, etc.): Turkish: *dinlen* 'recover', Old Norse *gróask* 'grow'.

Kemmer (1993:21) notes that middle marked verb forms in many of the classes mentioned above tend to have corresponding unmarked forms, and the latter are usually transitive verbs denoting two-participant events: as in Bahasa Indonesia where *ber-henti* 'come to a stop' corresponds to the transitive *henti* 'stop'. These transitive unmarked forms often belong to the following semantic classes: body care, nontranslational motion, change in body posture, indirect middle, naturally reciprocal event, spontaneous event, and emotion middle types. Kemmer argues that for verbs in all these classes, except the natural reciprocal and the indirect middle, the corresponding unmarked root verb is typically semantically causative.

On the other hand, there are middle classes like emotive speech action, other speech action, translational motion, and cognition middle classes, in which verbs do not generally have corresponding unmarked transitive verbs. Kemmer (1993:22) also

observes that unmarked forms in the latter two classes are often intransitive, preserving the natural one-participant semantics of the root verb meanings, e.g. Old Norse *ganga-sk* ‘go, go away’, alongside *ganga* ‘go’. In some languages certain middle verbs are themselves transitive, like Lat. *vereor* ‘fear’ and Old Norse *undrask* ‘wonder at’.

The class of middle verbs which do not have unmarked counterparts is quite widespread in middle-marking languages. To refer to the members of this class Kemmer uses the term “deponent” in “a strictly formal sense, corresponding to what scholars of Greek called *Media Tantum* (Greek verbs whose basic form was middle)” (1993:251). For a discussion on the term “deponent” see the sections on Latin deponent verbs.

Many grammars of languages with middle-marked verbs (such as Latin, Classical Greek, Turkish, Hungarian, Old Norse, Sanskrit), particularly traditional descriptive grammars, include a list of deponent verbs and sometimes, in case of a well-described language, the number of deponents can be quite large, as for instance in Latin and Classical Greek.

Mention should be made that deponent verbs in all languages exhibiting them generally fall into the specific semantically defined verb classes as identified by Kemmer (1993) and illustrated above.

The problems involving deponents in general and Latin deponents in particular will be discussed later in this chapter. In what follows, I will outline the major transformations undergone by the PIE middle voice in different IE languages.

4.3.6.6. Transformations of the middle in Indo-European languages

The variety of meanings covered by the PIE middle voice had inevitably led to a variety of manifestations in the descendants of this grammatical category in the different IE languages. Here are some of them:

Sanskrit has developed a passive by modifying a present class with intransitive value: *jayate* ‘comes forth’ > ‘is born’. Outside the present system, the passive is expressed by the middle (cf. Lazzeroni 1998:115).

In Indo-Iranian the middle function is the unmarked one, with the syntactic passive secondary (cf. Baldi 1995:364).

The conjugation of the middle is fully attested only in Hittite. The use of the middle as a true passive is attested relatively rarely and only in documents later than

the oldest phase. Otherwise, the passive meaning is conveyed by lexical passives, such as *ak-* ‘die’ as the passive of *kuen-* ‘kill’, or by the third-person active plural, also widely employed as an impersonal form (cf. Luraghi 1998:184-5).

In Greek, the middle and the passive are morphologically identical in all but the aorist and future forms (cf. Baldi 1995:365).

Italic and Celtic show mostly passive use, though there is ample evidence of the middle in deponent verbs and in relic middle verbs such as *lavatur* ‘he washes’ (see Baldi 1977). In Old Irish the passive was similar but distinct from the deponents: *suidigidir* ‘places’ differs from *suidigthir* ‘is placed’ only in lacking syncope (cf. Sims-Williams 1998:369).

Germanic languages have no productive middle surviving from PIE, but do have a passive voice, as evidenced by Gothic (cf. Baldi 1995:365).

4.3.6.7. The Latin middle⁶³

Of the three Latin descendants from the PIE non-active class, the middle and the deponent are relevant for the present study. Generally, the middle is missing from conventional Latin grammars, as most linguists regard this class as declining in the language, with only a few vestigial uses, described as passive with reflexive meaning, surviving into the literary period (see Flobert 1975). As Baldi (1999:392) argues, the middle has often been acknowledged as a reflexive class, particularly in contexts where the reflexive meaning is expressed by a pronoun (Lat. *sē*), as illustrated in the following examples:

- (416) *Claudia sē lāvit*
 ‘Claudia washed herself’ (reflexive)
- (417) *Magister sibi emet librum*
 ‘The teacher will buy himself a book’ (reflexive)

It is clear that the two categories of reflexive and middle overlap considerably, and thus their functions are not always easily distinguished, most linguists dismissing the idea of a Latin middle voice. Baldi considers that the use of

⁶³ This section is largely based on the work on Baldi (1973 and 1999), as he is probably one of the most enthusiastic supporters of the idea that the middle voice is relevant to the Latin language.

the middle diminished in Latin and that consequently the verb in the active voice accompanied by a reflexive pronoun ultimately became the main structure to express the notion of ‘subject acting on oneself or on one’s own behalf’, i.e. the predecessor of the Romance reflexive voice.

Baldi’s theory of the middle voice in Latin has already been discussed in this chapter (see section 4.3.4.1). At this stage, it is however important to review the problems he has identified in distinguishing the middles from the passives and the deponents. The first one refers to their identical morphology and the lack of distinguishing structural features which would make them easy to differentiate in certain contexts. A second issue involves the difficulties in distinguishing the middle from the agentless passive. The following example from Baldi (1999:393) illustrates this: a sentence like *mōrēs mutantur* could mean either ‘customs are changing (themselves)’, or ‘customs are being changed (by someone)’. The third and final problem in identifying middle verbs is a semantic one, as many deponent verbs, also descendants from the PIE middle, still preserve some of their original middle meaning, such as *orior* ‘I arise, get up (myself)’.

As mentioned above, the existence of a middle voice in Latin has generally been questioned mainly by early grammarians. However, the issue has come up again together with the discussion of the problems imposed by the term ‘middle’ in the last 20-30 years. In what follows, I will briefly outline Baldi’s theory of the Latin middle voice (1973), probably the most extensive account of this topic.

4.3.6.8. Baldi’s theory of voice

The problem of identifying the grammatical voices of Latin preoccupied many Latin grammarians. An excellent review of the literature on this topic is to be found in Flobert (1975). A more recent, though now quite old, account of the Latin voices is that of Baldi (1973), written in a Case Grammar framework.

From the very beginning, Baldi proposes that the Latin verb system was one with three synchronically productive voices: Active, Passive, and Middle. The explanation for the third voice starts from the deponent verbs, unanimously acknowledged as historical remnants of the Indo-European middle voice and generally described as a special verbal category within the Latin verbal system. But Baldi perceives them as a distinct class within the larger class of middle verbs that he has identified in Latin. His study is actually a reanalysis of the Latin voice system

with the middle voice as a synchronically productive verbal category, identified as using a system of covert reflexivity.

Baldi (1973:72) suggests that the Latin middle voice exists in a class of verbs which, semantically determined, constitutes a closed, though numerous, set which is constrained by the ability of a given verb to assume the *-r* form (that is, the marker of the passive voice) **without permitting for outside agency or instrumentation** (Baldi's emphasis). According to Baldi, this constraint is the very feature which distinguishes the passive from the middle. In both voices the subject NP undergoes action and it is, generally speaking, Object or Patient. In the passive voice, the Agent must be different from the Patient or Object, but in the middle voice, they have to be coreferential.

In Case Grammar terms, in the passive voice, the surface subject NP will be either Experiencer, Beneficiary, or Object in underlying structure, and any other NPs in the same simple sentence will be either Agent or Instrument, and cannot be coreferential with the subject NP (1973:87).

On the other hand, the middle voice is characterized by the presence of a coreferential surface subject NP (Agent) and either an Object NP or an Indirect Object NP (1973:87). When the verb is transitive, the second occurrence of the NP will be either an Experiencer or a Beneficiary. If the verb is intransitive, then the second occurrence of the NP will be either an Experiencer, Beneficiary, or Object.

On the basis of these differences between passive and middle, Baldi has identified two types of Latin middle verbs. The first are semantically marked [+Mid] and comprise verbs whose action is always received by the grammatical subject. In many cases these verbs are *media tantum*⁶⁴ (e.g. *amictor* 'cloak oneself', *potior* 'take possession of', and *utor* 'use, benefit oneself'). There is another class of verbs marked [+Mid], namely those with semantic potential, as inherently reflexive verbs, to assume the *-r* ending without changing the meaning (e.g. *arbitro*: *arbitror* 'think, perceive', *saevio*: *saevior* 'vent one's rage, be angry'). Verbs of this type cannot be passivized.

The second type of middles groups verbs marked [\pm Mid] and include regular active verbs which have the possibility of getting the *-r* marker; when this happens and no outside agent is expressed or implied, these verbs must receive a reflexive

⁶⁴ i.e. verbs with a middle form only. For a discussion of IE *media tantum* see Benveniste (1966).

interpretation. Many members of this class oscillate between the active voice with reflexive pronoun and the *-r* form (i.e. middle). Examples for this group are: *lavo* ‘I wash’: *lavor*, *me lavo* ‘I wash myself’, *volvo* ‘I turn’: *volvō*, *me volvo* ‘I turn myself’. All verbs marked [\pm Mid] can be passivized (Baldi 1973: iv-v).

This analysis of the Latin middle voice is continued in Baldi (1999) with a detailed classification of the different types of functions played by middle verbs. This classification is described below.

4.3.6.9. Types of middles

A general classification of middles on semantic grounds was proposed by Kemmer (1993), as described in the previous section. Baldi (1999:393-4) classifies Latin middle verbs according to their functions, as they are attested in the different types of texts from different periods. The vast Latin literature proves that the middle was a live morphosyntactic category playing the following roles:

1. Direct middle. This class contains verbs in which the subject is in both an agent and a patient or experiencer. Generally, the subject is acting on himself or herself, e.g. *lavor* ‘I wash (myself)’. Baldi cites an impressive number of members of this class and I believe it is important to cite them all in order to illustrate that most of them belong to the first three categories in Kemmer’s classification, i.e. grooming or body care, nontranslational motion, and change in body posture: *abdor* ‘I betake myself’, *applicor* ‘I attach myself to’, *armor* ‘I arm myself’, *auctōror* ‘I bind myself to’, *circulor* ‘I form a circle around myself’, *circumagor* ‘I turn myself about’, *compleor* ‘I fill myself’, *continuor* ‘I unite myself to, join’, *cōpulor* ‘I join myself to’, *exercitor* ‘I exercise myself’, *flector* ‘I turn myself around’, *induor* ‘I dress myself’, *levator* ‘I lift myself’, *moveor* ‘I move myself’, *mūnior* ‘I defend, cover myself’, *occulor* ‘I conceal myself’, *ornor* ‘I embellish myself’, *pandor* ‘I bend myself’, *pōnor* ‘I apply myself to’, *porrigor* ‘I spread myself out’, *praecipitor* ‘I throw myself down’, *sēparor* ‘I separate, set myself off’, *simulor* ‘I disguise myself’, *solvor* ‘I detach myself from’, *taceor* ‘I silence myself’, *tondeor* ‘I shave myself’, *torqueor* ‘I twist myself’, *vergor* ‘I bend myself’, *versor*, *vertor*, *volvō* ‘I twist, turn myself’.

2. Indirect middle. Baldi includes in this class verbs in which the subject acts in his or her own behalf or interest, often intensively; the subject is in both an agent and a beneficiary relationship to the verb, e.g. *excalceor* ‘I take off my shoes’, *īnstruor* ‘I furnish myself with’, *optor* ‘I wish for myself, select’. Remember that Kemmer also labeled her class of indirect middles as ‘self-benefactive middle’ (1993:17).

3. Reciprocal middle. The verbs belonging to this class have conjoint subjects which are acting on each other, not on themselves, in a typically patient role. Cf. *cōpulāmur* ‘(we) join together, connect’, *lītīgāmur* ‘(we) dispute, quarrel’, *miscēmur* ‘(we) assemble, mingle’, *partimur* ‘(we) share, distribute’. This class of middles also appears in Kemmer’s classification, where it is presented together with the class of indirect middles. According to Kemmer, reciprocal middles include verbs of fighting, embracing, meeting, greeting, conversation, etc. In respect to Latin, Baldi comments that the reciprocal middle is not well represented in the texts probably because there were many other devices available for the expression of reciprocity, such as reflexive pronouns, the reciprocal pronouns *uterque*, *alius* ‘the other’, the preposition expression *inter nōs*, *inter vōs*, *inter sē* ‘between us, you, themselves’, and the adverb *invicem* ‘in turns’.

After discussing the problems related to the question of voice in Latin, the analysis will continue with an investigation of the class of deponent verbs in terms of their structure and historical development.

4.4. Latin deponent verbs revisited

4.4.1. Classes of Latin deponents

Any attempt to classify such a diverse class of verbs should take into account Meillet’s truthful observation that “there is nothing which can predict *a priori* whether a certain verb is deponent or not. [...] In the final analysis, the deponent is, from the beginning of the tradition, a category without its own meaning” (1977:148-9). As there are not too many studies on Latin deponents, there are also not too many classifications. This section will review Baldi’s (1973) classes of deponents

according to their middle interpretation and Flobert's (1975) classes of Latin deponents according to their structure and will attempt to adapt Kemmer's (1993) classification of middle verbs to Latin deponents.

4.4.1.1. Classes of deponents according to their middle interpretation

As pointed out in the discussion of Baldi's theory of the middle voice and as shown in Figure 4.1, Latin deponents find their origins in the IE middle voice. Besides, there is a quite large amount of deponents formed analogically to other deponents with the same or approximately similar meaning. To support this view, Baldi examines some series of deponents with parallel meanings, such as verbs meaning 'help' (*adminiculator, adiutor, auxilior, opitulator, suppetior*); four verbs meaning 'worship' (*adoror, caerimōnior, supplicor, veneror*); and seven verbs meaning 'soothsay' (*auguror, for, hariolor, manticinor, ominor, praedicor, vāticinor*). In terms of origin, Baldi believes that many of these verbs are not ancient, and some are even based on borrowed words. However, he explains their existence through the fact that as they represent culturally important concepts, they also share a grammatical distinction, i.e. a deponent inflection.

In describing Latin deponents in relation to the middle voice, Baldi 1999 identifies three classes of deponents according to their middle interpretation. The first class, also the largest, includes deponents with recoverable middle meaning, i.e. the "middle interpretation was present in the original meaning structure of the form which has been retained in the verb as it is attested" (1999:395). This class includes verbs such as: *aporior* 'I am in doubt', *doleor* 'I am sad', *fērior* 'I rest from work', *formīdor* 'I am afraid', *fruor* 'I enjoy, take pleasure in', *fungor* 'I occupy myself with something', *grātor* 'I rejoice', *inaurior* 'I hear', *memoror* 'I remember', *mīror* 'I am amazed, wonder', *nītor* 'I exert', *orior* 'I arise, get up', *patior* 'I endure, suffer', *polliceor* 'I offer myself for something, promise', *potior* 'I possess, have mastery over', *precor* 'I beseech', *proficīscor* 'I set out, make a journey', *ūtor* 'I make use of', *vereor* 'I fear, am afraid', *vescor* 'I feed on'.

A second class, also significant in number, includes verbs with an original indirect middle interpretation, i.e. verbs for which an original middle interpretation, lost as the verbs changed to an active orientation, can be recovered. Examples include verbs like *sequor* 'I follow', which originally meant 'see', or *proficīscor* 'I set out', which seems to preserve the original meaning of the root *faciō* 'I make' as

‘put’ place’, here in the sense of ‘I put myself forward’; or possibly *manuor* ‘I steal’, which Baldi believes may have originally meant ‘apply one’s hand to something’. For a detailed account of how the original meaning interpretation of these verbs can be recovered, see Baldi 1973.

The third class of deponent verbs contains a large number of verbs with a strictly active interpretation. To explain the origin of this class, Baldi makes the assumption that they were at one time middle (probably indirect), but that this meaning is no longer recoverable by etymological analysis, or that they have been analogically created. Examples are: *alapor* ‘I slap’, *baubor* ‘I bark gently’, *calumnior* ‘I deceive, practice trickery’, *cōnor* ‘I undertake, try’, *gradior* ‘I step, walk’, *hortor* ‘I incite, urge strongly’, *hībernor* ‘I pass the winter’, *loquor* ‘I speak’, *mentior* ‘I lie, deceive’.

Baldi’s classification of Latin deponents combines both historical and semantic elements which emphasize the idea that this verbal category must have been widely used, as its members belong to such a diversity of semantic classes.

4.4.1.2. Semantic classification of Latin deponents

As noticed above, Latin deponents cover a large variety of semantic classes and this is probably the reason why semantic classifications have been avoided. In an impressive study on the middle voice Kemmer (1993:16-9) has identified eleven specific semantically-defined verb classes of middle verbs based on data from languages of different genetic and areal affiliations. As she considers deponents as a distinct class of middle verbs, I have tried to find out examples of Latin deponents to fit her semantic classification. These examples are listed below:

1. grooming or body care (typically verbs of washing and getting dressed):
lavor ‘wash’
2. nontranslational motion (verbs of moving the body without change in overall position): *revertor* ‘turn’
3. change in body posture (verbs of lying down, sitting down, standing up):
volvor ‘I turn’, *orior* ‘arise’
4. indirect middle (actions in which the agent is also a recipient or beneficiary):
mutuitor ‘want to borrow for oneself’, *dēpecūlor* ‘rob, plunder’, *vēnor* ‘hunt’

5. naturally reciprocal events (verbs in which the relationship between two participants is usually or necessarily mutual or reciprocal): *amplector* 'embrace'
6. translational motion (verbs of going, coming, walking, flying, running, etc.): *grassor* 'march', *proficīscor* 'start, set out', *prōgredior* 'go forward, advance', *gradior* 'step, proceed'
7. emotion middle (verbs of emotional reaction, like being angry, frightened, sad, happy, etc.): *irascor* 'be angry', *dēspicor* 'despise', *miror* 'wonder'
8. emotive speech actions (verbs of complaining, cursing, regretting, lamenting, etc.): *queror* 'complain'
9. other speech actions (usually with emotional overtones): *fateor* 'confess', *profiteor* 'declare openly, avow', *confiteor* 'confess', *cohortor* 'encourage'
10. cognition middle (verbs of mental state or process, like thinking, meditating, remembering, forgetting, supposing, etc.): *meditor* 'ponder, meditate', *opīnor* 'think', *reor* 'think, suppose'
11. spontaneous events (verbs of rotting, growing, drying out, falling apart, evaporating, etc.): *collabor* 'fall apart', *liquor* 'flow, melt', *prōlābor* 'slide along, stumble, fall down'

The problem I have often encountered in findings examples to fall into these semantic classes is that many Latin deponents cannot be found a place in the eleven classes set up by Kemmer. Here are some examples: *imitor* 'imitate', *potior* 'I possess, have mastery over', *fungor* 'perform (as a duty)', *nascor* 'be born', etc. Other verbs may be placed in a certain class, but this may be questionable: indirect middle - *cōnor* 'attempt, undertake', emotive speech act - *hortor* 'exhort', spontaneous event - *dēfetīscor* 'grow wearied, be exhausted', etc. As mentioned earlier, deponents cover many semantic areas of the Latin vocabulary and a reliable and accurate classification would be difficult, if not impossible, to set up.

4.4.1.3. Classes of Latin deponents according to their structure

Finally, a structural classification of Latin deponents is found in Flobert (1975), who used it as the basis of his corpora study.

1. Primary verbs in *-*e/o-* (*furor* ‘enjoy’, *fungor* ‘perform (as a duty)’, *lābor* ‘slide, slip’, etc.), *-ā-* (*cōnor* ‘attempt, undertake’, *dēspicor* ‘despise’, *opīnor* ‘think’, etc.), *-ē-* (*fateor* ‘confess’, *reor* ‘think, suppose’, *profiteor* ‘declare openly, avow’, etc.), *-ī-* (*gradior* ‘step, proceed’, *morior* ‘die’, *ordior* ‘begin, set about’, etc.).
2. Verbs with the suffixes *-scor* (e.g. *proficiscor* ‘set out’, *dēfetīscor* ‘grow wearied, be exhausted’, *nascor* ‘be born’, etc.) and *-tor* (*-sor*, *-xor*): *commentor* ‘think’, *imitor* ‘imitate’, *hortor* ‘exhort’, *grassor* ‘march’, *amplexor* ‘embrace’
3. Denominative verbs:⁶⁵
 - 3.1. In *-ī-*: *blandior* ‘flatter’ (< *blanditia* ‘flattery’), *mentior* ‘lie’ (< *mentiens* ‘fallacy’), *largior* ‘give freely, lavish’ (< *largitiō* ‘largess’)
 - 3.2. In *-ā-*: *miseror* ‘cry’ (< *miseratio* ‘compassion’), *auxilior* ‘help, support (with military troops)’ (< *auxilia* ‘auxiliary troop’), *antestor* ‘call to witness’ (< *testis* ‘witness’)
4. Suffixed verbs (*-cinor*, *-ficor*, etc.): *vaticinor* ‘predict’, *latrocinor* ‘rob’, *pacificor* ‘make peace’, *ludificor* ‘make fun of, tease’, *laetificor* ‘rejoice’, *opitulator* ‘help’, *gratulator* ‘congratulate’, *morigeror* ‘gratify, try to please’
5. Greek borrowings: *comissor* ‘party’
6. Verbs with prefixes: from *lābor* ‘slide, slip’: *interlābor*, *relābor*, *sublābor*, *subterlābor*, etc.

A general overview of Flobert’s classification of Latin deponents may entail a much simpler classification: the first class presented above actually contains examples of deponent verbs belonging to the four categories, also known as conjugations, of Latin verbs according to their thematic vowel, i.e. *-ā-*, *-ē-*, *-ě-*, *-ī-*. The verbs belonging to the other classes either have suffixes or prefixes, and a very small number is borrowed from Greek or is built on a Greek root with Latin suffixes.

Leaving aside its shortcomings, Flobert’s classification of Latin deponents according to their structure points again to their diversity. The following section will also emphasize this aspect, this time in terms of the behaviour of deponent verbs.

⁶⁵ Flobert makes a further distinction within this class, that between *verbes predicatifs* and *verbes situatifs* (1975:66ff). The first category marks a process of identification between the subject and the nominal root of the verb, whereas the second category marks a heterogeneity between them. As I believe such a distinction is not relevant for this study, I have chosen not to include it here.

4.4.2. Development of Latin deponents

4.4.2.1. General characteristics

All accounts of Latin deponents mention as their common feature the continuous fluctuation between deponent and active forms which finally resulted in their extinction. Meillet (1928:148-9) believes that from the very beginning, i.e. from its earliest texts, Latin often experienced an oscillation between active and deponent forms, with active forms replacing deponent forms. The same opinion is shared by Ernout (1953:115), who notices that the tendency to replace deponent forms, the least active structures of Latin grammar, with active forms is particularly evident in the literary works using everyday Latin, such as those of Plautus. Laurent (1999:43) reports that in *Satyricon*, written by Petronius in the first century AD, the characters use verbs in the active voice where Classical Latin required deponents, such as *loquis* ‘you speak’ instead of *loqueris*, *argutat* ‘he chatters’ instead of *argutatur*, *naufregarunt* ‘they were shipwrecked’ instead of *naufrazi sunt*. Laurent also reports that active verbs were used as deponent in this literary work: *delectaris* ‘you delight’, *delectaretur* ‘he might delight’, *rideatur* ‘may laugh’. Laurent (1999:43) believes that such confusion between active and deponent verbs foreshadows “the complete disappearance of the latter” in the Romance languages.

The causes of this unanimously acknowledged phenomenon have also been investigated. Meillet argues that the reason for this fluctuation was the diversity of the origins of Latin deponent verbs: besides the cases where Latin verbs inherited the middle endings from Indo-European (such as *sequor* ‘I follow’), there are numerous examples where the deponent marker is most probably due to an accident (such as *fatur* ‘he speaks’). The result of this oscillation was that the Romance languages have totally eliminated the deponent inflection.

Meillet also believes that the oscillations experienced by this “complication inutile” should not be considered surprising, as deponents in all languages were a category doomed to failure. Within these oscillations, he identifies two directions: one in which deponent forms are replaced by active forms, and one in which deponent forms are artificially maintained or other new deponent forms are created by some writers (such as Tertulien c.160 – c.230 AD) in their works when the language of the people is no longer using them.

Monteil (1970:262) offers another explanation, based on cognitive factors, for the elimination of deponent verbs: he believes the loss of the deponent category

was due to the fact that the speaker could not understand the special status and function of the deponent. This view is supported by the following series of facts illustrated by Monteil with examples from literary works:

1. Double inflection (attested from the earliest stages): *mereri/merere*, *ludificari/ludificare*, etc.
2. Deponent verbs inflected as active: *auxiliare*, *fungere*, *miserere*, *recordare* etc.
3. Regular verbs inflected as deponents: *communicari*, *medicari*, *mendicari*, etc.
4. Passivization of deponent verbs (a deponent form comes to be considered a passive one). This situation was due to the fact that the deponent inflection also had active forms: the present participle and the gerundive. Besides, the verbal adjective in *-ndus* (e.g. *sequendus* ‘which has to be followed’) had a passive meaning and some past participles had both active and passive meanings, e.g. *comitatus* (< *comitor*) ‘having attended’ and ‘attended’; *populatus* (< *populor*) ‘having devastated’ and ‘devastated’.

In addition, Monteil makes the following remark which could be considered as a reply to Flobert: that the creation of new deponents, so much emphasized by Flobert, was only because the speaker was afraid to inflect as active a verb that (s)he supposed might be deponent. Ernout (1953:115) gives the following examples of new deponents from the works of Tertullian: *abstinērī* (from *abstinēre* ‘keep off’), *commemorārī* (from *commemorāre* ‘remember’), *comperirī* (from *comperire* ‘ascertain’), *coniectārī* (from *coniectāre* ‘consult’), *consultārī* (from *consultāre* ‘consult’), and *lacrimārī* (from *lacrimāre* ‘weep’). Moreover, Monteil argues that all these new creations had a momentary existence, disappearing soon after their formation.

The following table from Flobert (1975) offers a comprehensive overall perspective on the status of the deponent inflection over a period of ten centuries, from the 2nd century BC (the first period in the table) to the 8th century AD (the last period):

Table 4.11

The number of deponent verbs and deponent variants according to the period they appear in (Flobert 1975:509)

| Period | I | II | III | IV | V | VI | VII | VIII | IX | X | XI | XII | Total |
|-------------------|-----|----|-----|----|----|----|-----|------|-----|-----|-----|-----|-------|
| Deponents | 270 | 66 | 113 | 49 | 33 | 15 | 33 | 90 | 71 | 50 | 18 | 76 | 884 |
| Deponent variants | 14 | 15 | 19 | 7 | 9 | 1 | 11 | 55 | 50 | 75 | 231 | 99 | 586 |
| Total | 284 | 81 | 132 | 56 | 42 | 16 | 44 | 145 | 121 | 125 | 249 | 175 | 1470 |

The aims of this table were to present a statistical overview of how the deponent relationship developed in time and, besides, to show the constantly changing rapport between deponent verbs and deponent variants, i.e. verbs appearing in a deponent form and which were not normally deponent. Flobert claims that it is the usage only, “either exclusive or predominant, either fluctuant or sporadic” (1975:35), that makes the distinction between deponent verbs proper and deponent variants.

Comparing in the first instance the first and the last periods, the differences between the number of deponents and that of deponent variants are totally surprising: 270 deponents versus only 14 variants for the age of Plautus (2nd century BC), and 76 deponents versus 99 variants for the age of the grammarians and glossators of the 8th century AD. It is evident that the first period marks the beginning of the fluctuation destabilizing the deponent inflection, whereas the last period shows the number of deponents (perceived as) proper reduced to a third and in great danger in the face of large number of deponent variants.

The disequilibrium began in the 8th period in Flobert’s table, i.e. the age of Tertullian and the beginning of the Christian literature, including both translations from Greek and original works (2nd and 3rd centuries AD). The main characteristic of this period is the assimilation of a great number of grammatical and lexical features of spoken Latin by written Latin. This process is also reflected in the number of deponent variants (55), which exceeds half the number of deponents proper (90). The situation changes dramatically over the following centuries, with the number of variants exceeding that of deponents. The peak of this evolution is recorded by Flobert in the 11th period in his table, i.e. the 7th and 8th centuries AD). This period is known as the age of Late Latin, when the difference between “le latin savant”, i.e.

written, and “le latin rustique”, i.e. spoken, is no longer a difference in style, but a difference between two languages (cf. Flobert 1975:181). The immediate consequence of this difference is the appearance of new languages based on Latin, i.e. the Romance languages. The first written evidence of French, one of these languages, appears soon after this period: *Les Serments de Strasbourg* is dated 842. For Late Latin, Flobert counted 18 deponents and 231 deponent variants. He also recorded a general tendency to eliminate the synthetic passive that also affected the *infectum* of deponent verbs, which generally turn active, but also reflexive, as in *morirse* (from *morior* ‘I die’) and *nacerse* (from *nascor* ‘I am born’) (1975:182).

In the following sections I will take a closer look at how this situation was finally possible and I will analyse the two tendencies observed in the evolution of Latin deponents, which have generally been labelled as activization and, respectively, passivization.

4.4.2.2. Activization of deponent verbs

As mentioned above, the most frequent tendency recorded in the oscillating behavior of deponent verbs is activization, i.e. the use of active forms instead of the deponent ones. The following example from Ennius (2nd century BC) shows the use of the deponent verb *misereor* ‘I pity’ with an active form:

- (418) cōgēbant hostēs lacrimantēs
 bring together Imperf.3pl strangers Nom weep pres.part.Nom.pl
 ut **miserērent**
 conj. pity Imperf.Subj.3pl

The examples are numerous. Flobert brings a lot of evidence that the Latin verb *nascor* ‘I am born’, a *media tantum* verb in Proto-Indo-European, was very often used actively in the last centuries BC, as in the following example from Cato (1st century BC):

- (419) ubi germen **nascere** coeperit
 where spring Nom be born Inf begin Perf.Subj.3sg

Many authors also use the active perfect form *nascit* instead of the deponent *nascitur* (cf. Flobert 1975:289). This fact supports the idea expressed in 4.3.2. above that the Romance intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary do not have a correspondent deponent descendant.

Mihăescu (1978:236-7) brings further evidence for the tendency to replace deponent forms by active ones. His examples are from Late Latin texts written in the south-eastern provinces of the Roman Empire, particularly Moesia Inferior (northern Bulgaria). Most of them are from the work⁶⁶ of the Latin historian Iordanes (who died after 551). Some of these examples are presented in the table below, together with the regular deponent form that has been replaced. For each example I have also listed its verbal categories, i.e. mood and tense, and person and number.

Table 4.12
Activization of deponent verbs as recorded by Mihăescu (1978)

| Verb (Classical Latin) | Attested form | Grammatical (expected) form | Mood and tense | Person and number |
|---------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>adgredior</i> ‘I approach’ | <i>adgredere</i> | <i>adgredi</i> | present infinitive | - |
| <i>adipiscor</i> ‘I get’ | <i>adipiscunt</i> | <i>adipiscuntur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>demolior</i> ‘I demolish’ | <i>demoliunt</i> | <i>demoliuntur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>demolior</i> ‘I demolish’ | <i>demolivit</i> | <i>demolitus est</i> | perfect indicative | 3 rd singular |
| <i>depraedor</i> ‘I plunder’ | <i>depraedavit</i> | <i>depraedatus est</i> | perfect indicative | 3 rd singular |
| <i>digredior</i> ‘I separate’ | <i>digressimus</i> | <i>digressi sumus</i> | perfect indicative | 1 st plural |
| <i>dimetior</i> ‘I measure out’ | <i>dimetiunt</i> | <i>dimetiuntur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>evagor</i> ‘I roam about’ | <i>evagaret</i> | <i>evagaretur</i> | imperfect subjunctive | 3 rd singular |
| <i>famulor</i> ‘I am a servant’ | <i>famularunt</i> | <i>famulati sunt</i> | perfect indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>frustor</i> ‘I deceive’ | <i>frustarunt</i> | <i>frustati sunt</i> | perfect indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>furor</i> ‘I steal’ | <i>furare</i> | <i>furari</i> | present infinitive | - |
| <i>imprecor</i> ‘I imprecate’ | <i>impreco</i> | <i>imprecor</i> | present indicative | 1 st singular |
| <i>labor</i> ‘I slip’ | <i>labunt</i> | <i>labuntur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>luctor</i> ‘I struggle’ | <i>luctare</i> | <i>luctari</i> | present infinitive | - |
| <i>mercor</i> ‘I trade’ | <i>mercarent</i> | <i>mercarentur</i> | imperfect subjunctive | 3 rd plural |
| <i>metor</i> ‘I mark out’ | <i>metaret</i> | <i>metaretur</i> | imperfect subjunctive | 3 rd singular |

⁶⁶ *De origina actibusque Getarum (Getica)*.

| | | | | |
|--------------------------------|--------------------|-----------------------|-----------------------|--------------------------|
| <i>mutuor</i> ‘I borrow’ | <i>mutuavimus</i> | <i>mutuati sumus</i> | perfect indicative | 1 st plural |
| <i>reminiscor</i> ‘I remember’ | <i>reminiscent</i> | <i>reminiscentur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>remoror</i> ‘I delay’ | <i>remorasse</i> | <i>remoratum esse</i> | perfect infinitive | - |
| <i>scrutor</i> ‘I examine’ | <i>scrutant</i> | <i>scrutantur</i> | present indicative | 3 rd plural |
| <i>suspikor</i> ‘I suspect’ | <i>suspicaret</i> | <i>suspicaretur</i> | imperfect subjunctive | 3 rd singular |

The forms are attested mainly in the present and perfect indicative and in the third person singular and plural and the first person plural. It is important to notice that the tendency to replace deponent form by active forms affected both the tenses of the *infectum* (i.e. synthetic forms) and the tenses of the *perfectum* (i.e. analytic forms). Mihăescu observes it is the same tendency manifested in the passive voice, with passive forms losing their endings and adopting analytic structures. He believes that the loss of passive endings had a great impact on deponent verbs as well, causing a total restructuring of their forms.

4.4.2.3. Passivization of deponent verbs

This section will analyze the cases of passivization of deponent verbs, which were generally due to the creation of an active paradigm. This tendency in the behaviour of deponents occurred mainly with transitive deponents. Though parallel to the process of activization, the passivization of deponent verbs is chronologically distinct: Flobert (1975:343) argues that the first did not necessarily precede the latter, on the contrary, it looks like the reverse occurred more frequently and that in some cases it did not entail any activization at all.

It is generally believed that the passivization of Latin deponents was largely due to their passive past participles. Flobert argues it was the pressure of the context that favored this process and, moreover, it eliminated any misunderstanding. A sentence like *Templum dēmōlītum est* ‘the temple is/has been destroyed’, where *dēmōlītum* is the past participle of the transitive deponent verb *dēmōlīor* ‘I destroy, demolish’, is easier to analyze than *templum dēmōlītur*, which could be interpreted either as ‘he destroys the temple’ (with *templum* in the Accusative case) or as ‘the temple is destroyed’ (with *templum* in the Nominative case).

Within the passivization of Latin deponents two tendencies are to be observed: the impersonal passive and the verbal adjective in *-ndus*. The impersonal

passive extends the process of passivization to intransitive verbs. The following examples were recorded by Flobert (1975:344-5): *testatur* 'it is tested', *gloriatur* 'it is glorified', *lamentatur* 'it is grieved', *querebatur* 'it was complained', *fatebitur* 'it will be disclosed', *arbitretur* 'that it be considered', *medeatur* 'that it be restored'.

The Latin verbal adjective in *-ndus*, also known as gerundive, has a passive meaning: *amandus* means 'which has to be loved'. As not all Latin verbs make use of this verbal form, it is commonly believed that the ability of some deponent verbs to form such adjectives is a sign of passivization. The vast majority of examples attest their impersonal usage: *opitulandum* 'which has to be helped' (< *opitulator*), *contemplandum* 'which has to be observed' (< *contemplor*), *gratulandum* 'which has to be congratulated' (< *gratulator*), *confitendum* 'which has to be confessed' (< *confiteor*), *testandum* 'which has to be declared' (< *testor*) etc.

In a table recording the activations and passivizations recorded in several literary works, Flobert (1975:512) reaches the conclusion that the most frequent tendency was for deponent verbs to be used actively, the percentage ranging between 53% and 87%, whereas the passivizations only recorded between 10% and 36%, the latter in historical texts, which also make use of a large number of passives.

4.4.2.4 The *perfectum* of deponent verbs

It has been noted above that the general tendency to eliminate the Latin synthetic passive influenced the *inflectum* of deponent verbs, which generally turned active, e.g. *opinio* for *opinior* 'I assume' (cf. Flobert 1975:182). It is not very clear, however, what happened to the *perfectum* of deponents, i.e. the analytic forms made up of the auxiliary *esse* and a past participle. As mentioned above, some linguists assumed that these analytic forms served as a model for the Romance structures using the auxiliary BE to express perfect tense. This section will investigate the history of perfectum forms within the context of the chaotic history of deponent verbs.

A survey of the examples of deponent verbs provided by Flobert in his corpus (thousands of examples of deponent verbs with all recorded forms from the 2nd century BC up to the 8th century AD) shows a small number of analytic structures which can be found up to the 6th century AD. Here is a list of all these forms in chronological order. The page number is the corresponding page number in Flobert (1975). The analytic forms are in bold type.

2nd-3rd centuries (193-337)

eum regni ueste dignitati sunt ‘they have honoured him with the attire of kingship’ (p.146)

qui architectonatus est textilia ‘who has devised the fabrics’ (p.147)

quanta malignatus est inimicus in sancto ‘how wickedly the enemy acted in the holy place’ (p.147)

quanta post passionem domini historiatus est Nicodemus ‘how many stories Nicodemus told after the suffering/passion of the lord’ (p.150)

iacturatus fuerit animam suam ‘He had put his soul in danger’ (p.150)

quod subpertus sit ‘what he had suffered’ (p.152)

et secundae post diluuium geniturae supermēnsus est ‘and he remained after the flood/destruction? of the second generation’ (p.154)

exfornicata est mater eorum ‘their mother has committed fornication’ (p.155)

ille inoperatus est in Christum ualentiam suam ‘he devoted his strength to (the work of) Christ’ (p.156)

inscrutatus est in domo Liae ‘he searched out the house of L.’ (p.156)

4th-5th centuries (337-423)

quae tantum uerbōsāta est ‘who is so talkative’ (p.163)

adhuc fugit qui opificatus est ista ‘the one who made this fled here’ (p.164)

reingressi sumus ‘We went ahead again’ (p.165)

et in eō contūtāti sunt eum ‘And in there they have placed themselves in safety’ (p.166)

libros reinterpretatus est ‘he explained the books again’ (p.167)

coinfantiatum est homini Verbum Dei ‘the word of God has become a child to the human’ (p.167)

5th-6th centuries

mēcumque est spōnsiōne pactuātus ‘and he contracted with me by means of a solemn promise’ (p.174)

subtussecuta est eum (abyssus) ‘she followed it down (the abyss)’ (p.175)

haec et comprofessus sum et conscius sum ‘these things I both have declared publicly and know’ (p.176)

It is important to note that the number of analytic deponent forms decreases in time (from ten in the first period to only three in the third period) and that *infectuum* forms are more likely to be found than *perfectum* forms. My search has shown that no *perfectum* forms are recorded by Flobert after the 6th century. The table below lists the verbs which appear in an analytic form in the examples above.

Table 4.13

| 2 nd -3 rd centuries | 4 th -5 th centuries | 5 th -6 th centuries |
|---|--|---|
| <i>dignitor</i> ‘honour’ <i>architectonor</i> ‘invent, create’ <i>malignor</i> ‘do or contrive maliciously, to malign’ <i>historior</i> ‘tell, narrate’ <i>iacturor</i> ‘put in danger, risk’ <i>subperior</i> ‘suffer abuses’ <i>supermetior</i> ‘mete out abundantly’ <i>exfornicor</i> ‘to commit whoredom or fornication’ <i>inoperor</i> ‘to effect, produce’ <i>inscrutor</i> ‘to examine’ | <i>verbosor</i> ‘be talkative’ <i>opificor</i> ‘do, create’ <i>reingredior</i> ‘advance, go forward, march, proceed’ <i>contutor</i> ‘place in safety’ <i>reinterpretor</i> ‘re-translate’ <i>coinfantior</i> ‘be a child with’ | <i>pactuor</i> ‘stipulate’ <i>subtusseqvor</i> ‘follow, come or go after’ <i>comprofiteor</i> ‘declare publicly, acknowledge’ |

Table 4.14, based on Flobert’s corpus, illustrates the number of deponent verbs recorded by Flobert in his corpus and the number of verbs which appear in a *perfectum* form in the same corpus. The comparison of the two figures indicates a clear decline in the number of deponent compound structures, from 11.1 % in the 2nd and 3rd centuries AD to zero after the 6th century.

Table 4.14

| Century | Deponent verbs | <i>Perfectum</i> forms | % |
|--|----------------|------------------------|------|
| 2 nd -3 rd centuries | 90 | 10 | 11.1 |
| 4 th -5 th centuries | 71 | 6 | 8.45 |
| 5 th -6 th centuries | 50 | 3 | 6 |
| 7 th -8 th centuries | 18 | - | 0 |
| after the 8 th century | 76 | - | 0 |

It is not clear, however, whether the analytic forms presented above were used in parallel with synthetic forms or whether corresponding synthetic forms existed at that time. Flobert’s corpus does not offer any example of synthetic (activized) forms equivalent to the analytic structures listed above.

The gradual change towards activization affecting the *infectum* of deponent verbs must have had an impact on their *perfectum* as well. Speakers had the choice of preserving the old analytic forms (e.g. *digressi sumus* ‘we separated’) or substituting the synthetic structure (e.g. *digressimus*, 6th century, cf. Mihăescu 1978:236) that regular verbs had in the *perfectum*. It is clear that the second choice was favoured and that most verbs restructured their entire set of forms. The fact that none of the verbs listed in Table 4.13 is used more than once may indicate a once-off use and not a regular occurrence. In addition, the small number of attested *perfectum* forms compared to the number of deponent verbs recorded in Flobert’s corpus indicates the continuous decline of the class of deponents as a whole and the improbability that the *perfectum* forms of deponent verbs served as a model for the Romance verbal forms using the auxiliary BE to express perfect tense.

A final note on the verbs *morior* ‘die’ and *nascor* ‘be born’. The discussion in section 4.3.2 above showed that the Romance descendants of these verbs select BE as perfect auxiliary in languages with lexical auxiliary selection. But Flobert brings clear evidence that both *morior* ‘die’ (1975:310) and *nascor* ‘be born’ (1975:289) started being used with active forms by the first century BC (c.f. *moriam* for *moriar*, *moriunt* for *morintur*, *morias* for *moriaris*; *nascit* for *nascitur* appears to be a very frequent form). Laurent (1999:74) argues that Classical Latin *mori* turned into *moriri* in the works of Plautus and Ovid, and later on into *morire* (< Rom. *a muri*, Sp. *morir*), as attested after the Empire’s fall. Flobert also notes that in Late Latin (the 7th

and 8th centuries AD) the deponent inflection disappears together with the synthetic passive and turns either active or reflexive, as in *morirse*, *nacerse* (1975:182). While there is enough information to document the activization of the *inflectum* of *morior* and *nascor*, the history of their *perfectum* is little known and needs a thorough investigation. However, Flobert recorded the form *muriui(t)* (3rd century AD), a replacement for the Classical Latin *mortuus est*. This is a clear indication that the structure of *morior* was also affected by the move of all forms of deponent verbs towards regularization. Thus, its modern use with a BE auxiliary must be a later development rather than a continuation of the deponent use. Taking into account the number of *perfectum* forms recorded from the 2nd to the 6th centuries AD (none of which belongs to *morior* or *nascor*), it is not possible to assume that the *perfectum* forms of these verbs survived from the 7th century onwards to be continued in some Romance languages.

4.5. Conclusion

It is thus clear why Meillet refers to deponents as a “useless complication”. Historically, they represent to some extent⁶⁷ the continuation of the convoluted PIE middle voice, which was marked by special inflectional endings and which expressed the idea of an action affecting the subject. But deponents were not the only descendants of the PIE middle voice in Latin. The other inheritor, and probably the most important one in terms of voice, was the passive voice. The common feature shared by deponents and passive verbs is represented by endings. Interestingly, there is no connection in terms of meaning, Latin deponents being very often defined as passive forms with active meaning. A form like *cohortor* ‘I encourage’ cannot be given a passive interpretation at all. The situation was completely different in Old Irish, where the deponent inflection was considered a subclass of the active voice (which will eventually assimilate them all) and where deponent verbs could undergo passivization (see section 4.3.2.2. above).

These passive forms bearing active meaning were obviously felt as uncomfortable among passive forms proper, and deponents began their migration towards the category that would have suited them best in terms of meaning, the active voice. Unfortunately, the transition was not as simple and smooth as in Old

⁶⁷ Baldi 1973 and 1999 claims that many Latin deponents are analogical creations.

Irish. Probably the most interesting result of this process was the creation of new deponents out of regular verbs. Flobert (1975) was very enthusiastic about this “deponentization”, very much in vogue during a couple of centuries, which in his view reflected how vigorous and dynamic deponent verbs were in Latin. It is true that this process began quite early, but generally linguists claim it is the result of a state of confusion surrounding the class of deponent verbs (see the discussion on Monteil 1970 in section 4.3.2.5.1. and Cennamo 1997). Besides, it is important to mention that in the end newly created deponents, which were not at all used regularly, exceed the number of deponents proper, which reflects otherwise the total bewilderment of Late Latin speakers in the face of this verbal class. This situation could only lead to the annihilation of this linguistic anomaly. This outcome was partly possible because of the disappearance of the synthetic passive forms from the *inflectum*, i.e. of the passive endings which were also common to deponent verbs. The loss of passive endings, which had become artificial, was a great relief for deponent verbs, which turned into active verbs, as it was only expected.

Under all these circumstances, would it then be reasonable to claim the existence of a connection between Latin deponents and the Romance Compound Past with the auxiliary BE? Generally, those who analysed Latin deponents claim that this class of verbs disappeared completely, leaving no traces in the Romance languages. Some of those embracing this claim are Meillet (1928), Ernout (1953), Baldi (1973, 1999), Monteil (1970), Mihăescu (1978) and Laurent (1999), whose opinions on the topic have been presented in this chapter. They all agree that Latin deponents, an already moribund category, died out before the Romance languages came into being. This is how Ernout magnificently summarized the ill-fated destiny of Latin deponents:

“ La notion du déponent s'affaiblit de plus en plus à mesure que l'on descend dans la latinité, et la tradition perd toute certitude. Chez un écrivain comme Grégoire de Tours⁶⁸, le déponent n'est plus qu'une survivance artificielle d'un passé aboli”. (1953:116)

But those whose analyses of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages also have a historical component have claimed the connection between the Compound Past with the auxiliary BE and the forms of Latin deponents is

⁶⁸ Gregory of Tours was a Latin historian who lived in the 6th century AD.

undeniable. BE was already an auxiliary in Latin, otherwise the only auxiliary. It was used in the analytic forms of the passive voice and, implicitly, of the deponent inflection. Furthermore, Latin also had a so-called “periphrastic conjugation”, consisting of the combination of the future participle active or the gerundive with forms of the verb *esse*, as shown in the following table:

Table 4.13:
The Latin periphrastic conjugation

| | Active | | Passive | |
|----------------|---|--|---|--|
| | Indicative | Subjunctive | Indicative | Subjunctive |
| Present | amātūrus sum 'am about to love' | amātūrus sim 'be about to love' | amandus sum 'have to be loved' | amandus sim 'have to be loved' |
| Imperfect | amātūrus eram 'was about to love' | amātūrus essem 'were about to love' | amandus eram 'had to be loved' | amandus essem 'had to be loved' |
| Future | amātūrus erō 'shall be about to love' | | amandus erō 'shall have to be loved' | |
| Perfect | amātūrus fuī 'have been about to love' | amātūrus fuerim 'have, may have been about to love' | amandus fuī 'have had to be loved' | amandus fuerim 'have had to be loved' |
| Pluperfect | amātūrus fueram 'had been about to love' | amātūrus fuisset 'had, might have been about to love' | amandus fueram 'had had to be loved' | amandus fuisset 'should have had to be loved' |
| Future Perfect | amātūrus fuerō 'shall have been about to love' | | | |
| Infinitive | | | | |
| Present | amātūrum esse 'to be about to love' | | amandum esse 'to have to be loved' | |
| Perfect | amātūrum fuisse 'to have been about to love' | | amandum fuisse 'to have had to be loved' | |

Both constructions disappeared altogether in the Romance languages. Modern Romance structures such as Sard. *est ploendo* ‘it is raining’ mark progressive or continuous aspect and are not direct descendants of BE + gerundive.

Naturally, the Romance Compound Past with the auxiliary BE could have nothing in common with the Latin periphrastic conjugation. In addition, as auxiliary selection refers only to the Compound Past (and the other compound tenses) in the active voice, linking it to the Latin passive voice, which also made use of the auxiliary BE in some tenses, would have been illogical. The only other choice left in

explaining the Romance compound perfect with the auxiliary BE was the class of deponent verbs, and linguists like Vincent and Tuttle assumed this hypothesis. However, Vincent (1982) has the merit of offering an explanation for why the BE periphrasis might arise on its own. Most sections of this chapter have shown that this theory is not a solid one, as the connections between Latin deponents and the Romance Compound Past tenses with the auxiliary BE can be established neither in an analysis from Latin to the Romance languages, nor in an investigation from the Romance languages to Latin. The only link between Latin deponents and the Romance Compound Past with the auxiliary BE can be the similarity in structure: auxiliary BE plus past participle. However, as the present chapter has shown, this similarity is not sufficient for a proper explanation of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages (see also the next chapter for a discussion of auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages).

But there must be an explanation for the emergence of BE as a Romance perfect auxiliary. The next chapter will review the data analysed in the previous chapters and try to suggest a different account of how the structure BE + past participle came to express perfect action for a small group of Romance intransitive verbs and only in some Romance languages.

Chapter 5

Origins of Auxiliary Selection in the Romance Languages

The analysis of Latin deponent verbs in the previous chapter has clearly shown that the Romance Compound Past tense forms using the perfect auxiliary BE are not simply descendants of this verbal class, as some linguists have assumed (see section 4.3.1. in Chapter 4). Under these circumstances, it is evident that the origins of this structure have to be found somewhere else. On the basis of synchronic analyses of intransitive past participles in Modern Romance, I advance the idea that the use of BE as perfect auxiliary with some intransitive verbs in the Romance languages derives from the use of *esse* as a copula accompanied by an intransitive past participle in Late Latin. Evidence will be provided that such structures appear between the 2nd and the 9th centuries AD.

Assuming the theory of syntactic change described by Harris and Campbell (1995) and the studies on reanalysis and actualization, particularly Timberlake (1977), Harris and Campbell (1995), and Andersen (2001), I will argue that the origin of the Romance Compound Past tense with the perfect auxiliary BE lies in the reanalysis of the copula *esse* as perfect auxiliary and in its actualization as the counterpart of the *habere* structure. I will also test this hypothesis against the theory of Copula Auxiliation as advocated by Dik (1987) and show that it complies with all its requirements. This chapter will conclude with some remarks on the origins of auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages.

5.1. Perfect auxiliary or copula?

In the second and third chapters of this thesis I have tried to answer the question whether auxiliary selection appears in Modern Romanian or at any stage in the historical development of the language (see section 2.8. in Chapter 2 and section 3.9. in Chapter 3). I have shown that, despite the lack of evidence of auxiliary selection in the earlier stages for which written evidence is available, present-day

Romanian can combine BE with the past participle of some intransitive verbs, particularly change of location verbs such as *a pleca* ‘leave’ and *a veni* ‘come’, and change of state verbs such as *a leșina* ‘to faint’ and *a dispărea* ‘to disappear’. In other Romance languages, these verbs are very likely to select BE as perfect auxiliary. The past participle agrees in gender and number with the subject and the meaning of the construction focus on the state of the action expressed by the past participle. However, I have argued that, even if on the surface this situation looks like a genuine proof of auxiliary selection, the construction with BE does not eliminate the normal one with the perfect auxiliary HAVE, as in the other Romance auxiliary selection systems. What is more, the two constructions differ in meaning (see, for instance, the discussion on the differences between *este plecată din birou* and *a plecat la o ședință*) and cannot be used in the same context or with the same grammatical constructions (see Table 2.3. for details). On the basis of these considerations, I argued that BE in such a construction with an intransitive past participle is not used as a perfect auxiliary, but as a copula, and that auxiliary selection is, therefore, not part of the Romanian grammar.

Similar discussions regarding the status of BE in periphrases containing intransitive past participles are found in the case of other Romance languages as well. They mainly refer to verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively. French is one of the most obvious cases in this respect. Just like in other Romance languages, French verbs which can be used both transitively and intransitively select either *avoir* ‘have’ or *être* ‘be’ as perfect auxiliary, according to their meaning and syntactic usage. According to Grevisse (1988), the choice of *avoir* points to the action in itself, as in the following example:

- (420) Sa vie **a changé**
 ‘His life has changed’

whereas the choice of *être* refers to the resultant state of the accomplished action, as in the following example:

- (421) Sa vie **est changée**
 ‘His life is changed’ (i.e. is no longer the same).

As in the case of Romanian, one structure does not eliminate the other one, as there is a difference in meaning. Meyer-Lübke (1974:330) argues that there is a tendency to use *avoir* with all past participles of these verbs and that *être* is used in all circumstances in which it has to express a meaning that cannot be expressed by *avoir*.

Kinder (2003) makes a very interesting observation about the latter case. He argues that the past participle easily assumes greater salience as an adjective, particularly through its subject agreement, and that the auxiliary becomes, in Kinder's terms, degrammaticalized and eventually assumes the status of copula: cf. *il est grandi/vieilli* 'he has grown/grown old'.

The same idea is expressed by Esch (2002:112), who claims that there is a tendency in Modern French that more and more verbs fall under the scope of *avoir* (cf. also Meyer-Lübke above), so that the choice of the perfect auxiliary remains, in Vincent's terms (1982:91) the "fossilized residue of a grammatically active opposition". Esch also argues that the number of verbs where the opposition can still be made apparent is not only small, but the past participles occurring with *être* have "effectively" become adjectives. She brings as an example the verb *grandir* 'to grow', which can be used with both auxiliaries (2002:112):

- (422) Ils **ont** **grandi** dans une petite ville
 they have:3pl grown up in a small town
 'They grew up in a small town.'

- (423) Ils **sont** **grandis**.
 they have:3pl grown:m.pl
 'They have grown.'

In the latter example, the status of *grandi* as adjective is obvious, as it agrees in gender and number with the subject. But subject agreement also appears in the Compound Past form with the perfect auxiliary BE. The difference lies in the role played by BE, i.e. whether BE is an auxiliary or a copula.

Here are some examples in which the past participle of the French verb *changer* 'change' is used in different grammatical structures:

- (424) Il **a changé** ses plans.
 ‘He has changed his plans.’
- (425) Ses plans **ont changé**.
 ‘His plans have changed.’
- (426) Ses plans **sont changés**.
 ‘His plans are changed.’

Changer is a verb which can be used both transitively and intransitively: (424) is an example of transitive use, hence the choice of the perfect auxiliary *avoir*, (425) is an example of intransitive use, hence the choice of the perfect auxiliary *être*. (426) can be given a passive interpretation, in which case the use of *être* is totally justified, but the same structure can also be given a copular interpretation, in which the past participle becomes a simple adjective, just as *grandi* in (423) above.

Kinder (2003) argues that in Italian there are many verbs that were once used both transitively and intransitively. He observes that nowadays there is a tendency to express the intransitive meaning through the reflexive, as in (428) below. When the reflexive clitic is omitted, as in (429) below, the past participle is perceived more as an adjective accompanying a copula. According to Kinder (2003), this tendency affects nowadays a very large number of verbs, cf. the following examples from Kinder (2003):

- (427) Matteo **ha cotto** la pasta
 ‘Matteo cooked the pasta’
- (428) La pasta **si è cotta** in otto minuti precisi
 ‘The pasta cooked in eight minutes exactly’
- (429) La pasta **è cotta**: tutti a tavola!
 ‘The pasta is cooked: everyone to the table!’

The problem of whether BE is an auxiliary or a copula arises from the similarity in form between the past participle and the adjective derived from a past

participle. An interesting case is the Romanian verb *a muri* ‘die’, whose past participle differs in form from the corresponding adjective. Thus, the form *mort* (from the Classical Latin past participle *mortuus* ‘died’, cf. also French *mort*) has been limited to the adjectival or nominal use with the meaning ‘dead (person)’. The regularized form *murit* (cf. also French *mouru*) has taken over as past participle meaning ‘died’. Laurent (1999:74) notes that a similar development has taken place in Portuguese. In other words, these languages abandoned the original Classical Latin deponent past participle and created a new regularized past participle for the new regular (non-deponent) verb. The formal difference between the past participle form and the adjectival form is best seen in the differences in their grammatical use. Consequently, *murit* is used in the Compound Past form, e.g. *el a murit*/**mort* ‘he died’, and *mort* in copular structures, e.g. *el e mort*/**murit* ‘he is dead’. Because of this formal difference, *a muri* cannot be listed with the other Romanian intransitive verbs (see section 2.8.6) whose past participle can combine with *a fi* ‘be’ in copular structures.

5.2. *Esse* and past participles in Latin

The occurrence of BE, either as perfect auxiliary or as copula, with intransitive past participles in several Romance languages leads to the question of whether similar examples are to be found at any stage in the history of Latin.

Latin participles, which appear in all auxiliary structures, form a well-structured system. They are built up on the verbal stem: *ama-re* ‘to love’ – *ama-tus* ‘loved’. They express tense and voice. There are three types of participles in Latin: present, past (perfect), and future participles, and there are used in a variety of auxiliary constructions. Roman grammarians identified past participles as the fourth principal part of verbs.

Past participles are especially known for their function in building up passive forms in the *infectum*: cf. *amatus est* ‘he was loved’. According to Laurent (1999:18), Latin past participles are most commonly used “in a predicative role” to bring additional information about the subject. In addition, they suggest that the action they denote happened before that of the main verb. This is evident in ablative-absolute constructions, such as the following cited by Laurent (1999:18) (no reference provided):

- (430) Cethēgus, **recitātīs** litterīs, repente conticuit.
 Cethegus read:f.Abl letter:Abl suddenly fell silent:3sg
 ‘When the letter had been read out, Cethegus suddenly fell silent.’

In addition, Laurent (1999:18) also mentions the use of past participles to suggest cause, concession, or condition, as in the following example (no reference provided):

- (431) Nōn mihi nisi **admonitō** vēnisset in mentem
 not me unless reminded:m.sg.Dat come:3sg.Plup.subj in mind
 ‘It would not have entered my head unless I had been reminded.’

Last, but not least, Latin past participles might mark events by themselves, as in the following example from Laurent (1999:18) (no reference provided):

- (432) **Violātī** hospitēs, lēgātī **necātī**, fāna **vexāta** hanc tantam effēcērunt
 vāstitātem.
 ‘Violated guests, slaughtered ambassadors, ravaged shrines brought
 about this massive devastation.’

In all these cases, the examples involve past participles of transitive verbs. Intransitive verbs in Classical Latin do not have past participle forms and dictionaries list them together with their forms for Supine or the Future Participle: e.g. *cedo, cessi, cessum* ‘to withdraw’, *venio, veni, ventum* ‘to come’, *doleo, dolui, doliturus* ‘to feel pain’, *vivo, vixi, victurus* ‘to live’. Laurent (1999:56) argues that all verbs missing their fourth part, i.e. the past participle, either acquired one in Late Latin or vanished altogether. Laurent (1999:69) argues that verbs past-participially defective amount to almost 10 percent of the Latin corpus he used for his study. For example, a verb such as *pluere* ‘to rain’ had no past participle in Classical Latin, but it acquired one in all Romance languages, cf. It. *piovuto*, Cat. *plogut*, Fr. *plu*, Rom. *plouat*. For a more detailed analysis of the formation of new past participles in Latin, see Laurent (1999).

Past participles of intransitive verbs were thus created, usually by adding the suffix *-tu* to the present stem (cf. Laurent 1999:71). A survey of the handbooks on

Late Latin and of some Late Latin texts (included in Väänänen 1967) shows that some of these participles are found in structures involving *esse* and they appear in various types of sources, ranging from tombstones and different inscriptions to translations of the Bible.

Laurent (1999:33) cites the following Late Latin tombstone inscription illustrating the use of the past participle of an intransitive verb, *obeo*, *obire* ‘fall, perish, die’, with the present form of *esse* (unfortunately, no reference for the example is provided):

- (433) *sorores una die obitae sunt*
 sisters one day passed away:f.pl are:3pl
 ‘The sisters passed away on one day.’

Laurent argues that the structure *obitae sunt*, which would correspond to *obierunt* in Classical Latin, was presumably modeled on *mortuae sunt* ‘they (have) died’. Väänänen (1967:137) argues that *obitus*, the past participle of the intransitive verb *obeo* ‘to fall, perish, die’, is frequently used instead of *mortuus* in the Latin inscriptions catalogued by Diehl (1961) and Dessau (1955).

Laurent (1999:33) also cites the form *processi erant* ‘they had advanced’, which he found in *Itala*, the Latin version of the Bible translated from Greek manuscripts in the 2nd century AD. This form, which may be regarded as a pluperfect of the intransitive verb *procēdo* ‘to go forwards, advance’, was rendered by *processissent* in the more conservative *Vulgate*, the standard authoritative Bible of the Latin or Roman church, prepared mostly by the labors of Jerome in the 4th century AD.

These two examples are also cited by Väänänen (1967:155), who also indicates the exact sources: *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum* (1862), volume VI, 17633 for *obitae sunt*, and *Itala*, Luke I, 7, for *processi erant*. In the latter case, the reference indicates that a better translation of the structure is ‘they were advanced in age’. In addition to these examples, Väänänen (1967:155) brings two other examples of the use of *deventus*, the past participle of the intransitive verb *devenio* ‘to come,

arrive', in active structures involving *esse*. Both examples are from the 6th century, from the work of Agnellus⁷² (my translation):

- (434) Cum **deventi** **essent** in loco
 when arrived:m.pl be:imperf.subj.3pl in place:Abl
 'When they had arrived at that place'

- (435) In Pannonia **deventi** **sunt**
 in Pannonia arrived:m.pl are
 'They arrived in Pannonia.'

Another example of an intransitive past participle occurring with *esse* appears in *Glossas emilianenses*, contained in a manuscript including religious texts from the 9th – 10th centuries. This text, reproduced in Väänänen (1967:258-9), shows *conventi fueritis* (line 2), a combination of *conventi*, the past participle of *convenio* 'to come together, gather', and *esse* in the perfect subjunctive, second person plural. In a note to this form, Väänänen (1967:272) links this form to *obitae sunt*, *processi erant*, *deventi essent* and *deventi sunt* mentioned above in this section.

Haadsma & Nuchelmans (1963) cite *fugiti sunt* 'they have run' as a verbal periphrasis used in Vulgar Latin in Lombard (northern) Italy, but they do not give any references as to the source of the example.

Note that the verbs in the examples above are change of location and change of state verbs, i.e. semantic verbal classes with a predisposition to select BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages with auxiliary selection.

In the analysis of these Late Latin structures, the question related to the syntactic function of *esse* arises. The meaning of these periphrases, that of completed action or state, is given by the past participle, with *esse* just emphasizing the state of the action. I suggest that in all examples presented above *esse* functions as a copula and that these structures will be reanalyzed as tense structures in Proto- and early Romance, with *esse* being reanalyzed as a tense auxiliary. The meaning of the periphrasis is finally given by the combination of *esse* and the past participle, just like in the case of *habere* and the past participle (see section 4.2 above).

⁷² Väänänen (1967:155) does not give any information on the author or his work. I suppose he means Agnellus, the abbot of San Gaudioso near Naples, who died in 596.

The rise of *habere* as a tense auxiliary began before the formation of intransitive past participles and their use in copular structures. Laurent (1999:31) argues that popular writers from the 2nd century BC, such as Plautus and Terence, used structures made up of *habere* and a past participle which might have had perfect meaning. *Habere* started out only with certain verbal classes, such as those expressing mental activities, and gradually extended its use to other classes. This extension might have not affected some intransitive verbs whose newly created past participles were already being used in periphrases with *esse*. These periphrases were covering the same perfect meaning as those in which transitive past participles were combined with *habere*. Hence, *esse* comes to be interpreted as perfect auxiliary and the initial copular structure becomes the counterpart of the *habere* periphrasis.

5.3. Reanalysis and actualization

In terms of diachronic syntax, the interpretation of *esse* as perfect auxiliary is regarded as reanalysis, whereas the interpretation of the initial copular structure as a Compound Past form, similar to the *habere* structure, is regarded as actualization. In what follows I will attempt to formulate the reanalysis and actualization of the structure BE + past participle expressing past tense in the passage from Late Latin to Early Romance.

5.3.1. Harris & Campbell's theory of syntactic change

The theory of syntactic change advocated by Harris & Campbell and illustrated with a great variety of changes, is based upon the existence of the following elements (cf. 1995:50 ff.):

1. only three basic **mechanisms** of syntactic change: two internal mechanism: reanalysis and extension, and one external: borrowing. Any other mechanisms suggested in works on diachronic syntax, such as grammaticalization, contamination, rule addition and loss, lexical diffusion, etc. are specific instances or consequences of one or a combination of these mechanisms.

2. a set of general diachronic **operations**⁷³ which are derivable from these mechanisms, from the general principles governing syntactic change and from the set of available constructions;
3. a set of **general principles** that interact with these operations;
4. a set of **syntactic constructions** which are part of universal grammar, in the sense that they are always available to be drawn on for alternative expression.

This theory is based on data from a wide variety of languages which allow Harris & Campbell to formulate generalizations about syntactic change. Approaching these data is done with few basic assumptions. Harris & Campbell assume that the structure of a clause includes information about constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels and grammatical relations.

The method used to support this theory is labeled Intersystemic⁷⁴ Comparison and it involves the cross-linguistic comparison of changes in the syntax of different languages, generally unrelated or distantly related languages. Harris & Campbell emphasize the fact that it is whole syntactic systems that must be compared, not isolated facts. This method allows them to make hypothesis about universals of change in the areas examined.

This theory provides an approach to the problems of diachronic syntax as a whole and a framework for the analysis of the history of syntax of particular languages and language families. I shall use Harris & Campbell's theory of syntactic change to support my analysis of the origins and development of the perfect auxiliary BE in the structure of the Compound Past in the Romance languages. I shall begin by summarizing the characteristics of reanalysis, one of the basic mechanisms of syntactic change advocated by Harris & Campbell in their theory.

5.3.2. Reanalysis

Reanalysis has been the most frequently used mechanism to explain syntactic change throughout the history of linguistics. Harris & Campbell (1995:61) define reanalysis as "a mechanism which changes the underlying structure of a syntactic

⁷³ 'Operations' in this theory refers to a set of informally recognized diachronic changes which frequently recur across the world's languages (Harris & Campbell 1995:57).

⁷⁴ 'Intersystemic' should be understood as denoting a number of ideas simultaneously (Harris & Campbell 1995:9). The term also refers to the (sub)systems involved in broad categories of change.

pattern and which does not involve any immediate or intrinsic modification of its surface manifestation". Reanalysis depends upon surface ambiguity or the possibility of more than one analysis. It directly changes underlying structure, which Harris & Campbell regard as including information regarding constituency, hierarchical structure, category labels, grammatical relations and cohesion (understood as the status of a linguistic sequence as a fully independent word, a clitic, an affix, or an unanalyzable part of a larger unit). A given reanalysis primarily may have an effect on any one of these aspects of structure. It is essential to mention that semantic change is involved also in many of these reanalyses.

Harris & Campbell argue that the conditions necessary for reanalysis to take place are "that a subset of tokens of a particular constructional type must be open to the possibility of multiple structural analyses, where one potential analysis is the old one (applicable to all tokens) and the other potential analysis is the new one (applicable to a subset)" (1995:72). The new potential analysis may be entirely new to the language or only new to a certain context or environment.

Reanalysis may develop in two distinct directions: it may introduce a totally new structure to a language, or it may conserve and refurbish already existing structures. Consequently, Harris & Campbell (1995:89) distinguish between innovative reanalysis from preservative (in essence structure-preserving reanalysis). In preservative analyses, a structure is reanalyzed as conforming in a new way to already existing elements of the language, whereas in innovative reanalysis, the structure brings on a new structure, which may coexist with that which was already in use.

Examples of reanalysis presented by Harris & Campbell (1995:65-70) include the reanalysis of the biclausal structure *est-ce que* as a sentence-initial question particle in French, the reanalysis of a certain number of verbs stems of the forms **b + Vowel + VERB STEM* (where *b* used to mark the "other living-things" class) as simple verb stem in Udi (of the North East Caucasian family) and the reanalysis of the indefinite object structure as noun incorporation in some Nuclear Micronesian languages.

5.3.3. Actualization

The notion usually associated with reanalysis is actualization. The term ‘actualization’ has been current in historical linguistics for a couple of decades, mainly due to Timberlake’s 1977 paper entitled “Reanalysis and actualization in syntactic change”. As Andersen (2001:225) points out, the notion of ‘actualization’ usually implies the view that every innovation in usage actualizes – that is, makes manifest in observable reality – some corresponding novel element of grammar. In a narrower perspective, actualization is most often associated with reanalysis in historical linguistic accounts which regard reanalysis as a major source of linguistic change, and which support the view that structural innovations in grammar precede and explain the innovations in usage by which they are actualized.

It is interesting to note that the notion of actualization, which is actually the only observable part of linguistic change, has played no role in most theoretic works on language change. Harris & Campbell, for instance, do talk about actualization which they describe in the spirit of Timberlake (1977), but do not recognize its role as a basic mechanism of syntactic change (See Section 5.1.1. above). Instead, they claim that each example of actualization is either an extension or an additional reanalysis (1995:80).

Timberlake (1977:141), on the other hand, distinguishes between two types of syntactic changes: reanalysis and actualization. In his view, reanalysis is defined as the formulation of a novel set of underlying relationships and rules, whereas actualization represents the gradual mapping out of the consequences of the reanalysis. While reanalysis is made possible by the potentially ambiguous character of surface structure, actualization takes place as the consequence of reanalysis.

Assuming that reanalysis precedes actualization, Harris & Campbell argue that during the period of actualization, a single input structure continues to have multiple analyses not just in the grammar of the community, but also in the grammar of the individual speaker. To describe the functioning of multiple analyses, they assume the existence of three stages of reanalyses (1995:81-2):

Table 5.1

| | |
|--|--|
| Stage A Input | The input structure has all of the superficial characteristics of the input analysis. |
| Stage B Actualization | The structure is subject to multiple analyses; it gradually acquires the characteristics of an innovative analysis, distinct from that of Stage A. |
| Stage C Completion | The innovative structure has all of the superficial characteristics of the innovative analysis. |

Reanalysis represents the transition from Stage A to Stage B. Actualization is understood as Stage B when the speaker/community makes both (or many) analyses, which may be related to each other in different ways at different times. Harris and Campbell claim Stage B is usually made up of multiple changes, reflecting the characteristics of the particular construction in the particular language. They also observe that the gradualness of change is due to the duration of actualization in some changes. Thus, some reanalyses may not reach Stage C, which means they are never completed, in the sense that all the characteristics of the innovative analysis may not be acquired.

Andersen (2001) also understands reanalysis as a systematic chain of events, which he labels ‘Evolutive change’⁷⁵ and which can be sketched as follows (2001:234): one or more individual speakers (i) construe a certain type of surface strings differently from previous cohorts of speakers (reanalysis) and (ii) actualize their analysis in usage that varies from received usage in some particular(s). The innovative usage may be (iii) adopted by other speakers and (iv) actualized by them

⁷⁵ The theory of Evolutive Change, as advocated by Timberlake (1977), assumes the existence of two layers of structure in speakers’ grammar: a base system of content categories, syntactic relations, and expression types that embodies universal principles of grammar; and a system of usage rules that are formulated in terms of this base grammar, but make reference to more superficial categories, in part community-specific (including pragmatic, stylistic, and sociolinguistic ones) – rules that enable speakers to match the local and contemporary usage of the tradition of speaking they consider theirs (cf. Andersen 2001:236). Andersen argues that the central issue for a speaker-oriented theory of Evolutive Change is to explain how the speakers of a language – who have no idea of its past history and no plans for its future – transform synchronic variation into change (2001:239).

and may be generalized in the community through repeated cycles of subchanges (i)-(ii) and (iii)-(iv).

In Andersen's view a reanalysis may affect one or more of the following dimensions (2001:234):

1. segmentation (including phonological, morphosyntactic or sentence-syntactic constituency);
2. valuation (ascription of content and category labels, centrality and bond strength, morphophonemic and phonological features);
3. ranking (of relevant features).

Andersen argues that this scenario must take into consideration two kinds of sociolinguistic and extralinguistic facts. First, when a language change appears in a speech community, speakers who produce the innovative usage usually continue to employ the older structure as well, generally according to special appropriateness conditions. Secondly, the replacement of old variants by innovative variants is negotiated through a period – years, decades, generations, or centuries – of progressively changing synchronic variation that is very often governed by social, stylistic, pragmatic, as well as grammatical factors.

Timberlake (1977) also claims that the actualization of syntactic change is systematic, in that it is governed by a number of linguistic parameters, which can be formalized as hierarchies. Those hierarchies may be different for different changes and may be quite heterogeneous even for a single change, but Timberlake suggests they all obey a single principle: motivation. A change will be actualized earlier in contexts which are unmarked (or more natural) with respect to the change and later in contexts which are marked (or less natural) with respect to the change (1977:141-2). Timberlake's study is based on the analysis of Finnish participial constructions. Another example of actualization is offered by Smith (2001): in Late Latin, the construction *habere* + past participle is reanalyzed as a present perfect tense form. A consequent actualization is the disappearance of participial agreement.

5.4. The reanalysis and actualization of the Latin copula

I argue that the reanalysis and actualization of Latin *esse* in structures involving past participles of intransitive verbs such as those described in section 5.2. above are the source of the Romance Compound Past tense form with the perfect auxiliary BE.

I shall begin this section by following the claims expressed by Harris & Campbell (2001:8) that a complete analysis of syntactic change should do at least the following:

1. Describe the range of causes of change from A to A';
2. Provide an understanding of the mechanisms that carry out a change from A to A';
3. Characterize the set of changes that languages undergo and those they cannot;
4. Provide an understanding of why languages undergo certain changes and do not undergo others;
5. Characterize the sources of new structures, including both old patterns that spread to new domains and patterns that are entirely novel in the language.

I will try to follow, whenever appropriate, each and every of the above recommendations in the analysis of the change from the Latin copula *esse* to the Romance perfect auxiliary BE.

I argue that the main mechanism of syntactic change underlying this process is reanalysis, as defined by Harris & Campbell (1995:61). According to their definition, the Late Latin syntactic pattern copula plus the past participle of certain intransitive verbs, particularly change of location and change of state verbs, is reanalyzed as a tense periphrasis without any change in its surface structure: *esse* keeps its present tense form and the past participle the agreement in gender and number with the subject. The reanalysis changes the underlying structure of the pattern, in that the copula is now interpreted as a tense auxiliary. Moreover, there is also a semantic change, in that the meaning of the structure moves from focusing on the state resulting from the action to the action itself.

Harris & Campbell argue that it is commonplace for changes of tense, aspect or mood to accompany reanalysis (1995:91). Moreover, the proposed reanalysis does not fall outside the general trends of changes in the verbal system from Latin to the Romance languages as identified by Vincent (1988:47-48), i.e. survival, survival with a change in function, disappearance, and new creation (see section 4.1.3. for a detailed discussion on this topic). Some Latin forms continue to exist in the Romance languages with a change in function, e.g. Lat. *-issem* (marker of the pluperfect subjunctive) > Romance *-ss-* (marker of the imperfect subjunctive in languages with such a tense): Lat. *venissem* > Fr. *vinssse*, It. *venissi*. This reanalysis of copula as perfect auxiliary may also be classified as a survival with a change in function.

Harris & Campbell argue that the condition necessary for reanalysis to take place is represented by the possibility that a particular structure is open to multiple structural analyses, where one potential analysis is the old one, and it is applicable to all tokens, and the other potential analysis is the new one, and it is applicable only to a subset (1995:72). Thus, the Classical Latin structure *esse* + past participle was open to multiple structural analyses, such as the perfect passive, the perfect deponent, or copular expressions. The new potential analysis was that expressing a perfect active action.

The interpretation of *esse* as perfect auxiliary in Late Latin and Proto-Romance was not new to the structure of the Latin language, as it already appeared in the *perfectum* tenses of the passive voice and the deponent verbs, but it was new in the context of intransitive verbs. As *habere* used as perfect auxiliary was very successful, particularly with transitive verbs, the structure involving the perfect auxiliary BE came to be used as its counterpart: the two constructions shared the same compositional structure (auxiliary in the present tense form plus a past participle) and the same temporal function (see Chapter 2 for the functions of the Romance Compound Past). I believe this new step should be regarded as actualization, as it is indeed the gradual mapping out of the consequences of the preceding reanalysis.

Considering the three stages of reanalysis advocated by Harris & Campbell (1995:81-2), I will structure the reanalysis and actualization of the change from the Latin copula *esse* to the Romance perfect auxiliary BE as follows:

Stage A, Input

The input structure *esse* + past participle has all of the superficial characteristics of the input analysis: *esse* functions as a copula and the past participle shows agreement in gender and number with the subject.

Stage B, Actualization

The structure *esse* + past participle is subject to multiple analyses: as discussed above, the input structure may express the perfect passive and the perfect of deponent verbs and may also serve as copular structures; it gradually acquires the characteristics of an innovative analysis, that of expressing perfect active actions.

Stage C, Completion

The innovative structure *esse* + past participle expressing perfect actions has all of the superficial characteristics of the innovative analysis. As the meaning of the innovative structure was also expressed by another structure (*habere* + past participle), and as each auxiliary preferred a certain semantic class of verbs, the two auxiliaries came to be used in a complementary manner. This stage was most probably reached in Early Romance.

Auxiliary selection was fully established in the 13th century Spanish, as the following example cited by Green (1987:265) illustrates:

- (436) **Exido es** de Burgos, e Arlançon **a passado**. (Cid 221)
Gone:m is from Burgos and Arlançon has crossed
'He left Burgos and crossed the river Arlançon.'

For French, auxiliary selection is attested even earlier, in the 12th century, as in the following example from the "Textes de Français Ancien" (TFA) database:

- (437) la ou li rois **sont alé**,
there where the king is gone

courtoisement l'**ont salué** (Anonymous, 1150, *Roman de Thèbes**
[page 135 | paragraph | (h1))
with curtsey him have:3pl saluted

‘The king was saluted with curtsey everywhere he went.’

I have shown in Chapter 2 and Chapter 3 that there is no written evidence of auxiliary selection in Balkan Romance, Romanian in particular. The territory on which Romanian is spoken was part of the Roman Empire for a very limited time (165 years), till 271 AD. After this date, the Latin brought by the Romans on this territory lost any contact with the Latin spoken in the rest of the Empire and, later on, the Romance variant created into this territory did not come in contact with its Romance sisters. As Romanian does not show any sign of auxiliary selection, it is reasonable to claim that auxiliary selection developed after the separation of Romanian from its language sisters. The roots of auxiliary selection, i.e. the use of the copula with past participles of intransitive verbs as attested in Late Latin, are present in Romanian, but the reanalysis of this structure as a perfect one and its actualization as the counterpart of the HAVE Compound Past do not appear in Romanian grammar, where HAVE is the sole auxiliary of the Compound Past. The Romance HAVE Compound Past also appeared as the result of a reanalysis, but this change must have developed before the reanalysis of the copular BE. This latter syntactic change might have developed in Late Latin, as examples such as *obitae sunt* ‘they have died’ suggest, and must have been transmitted to the other Romance languages together with other changes in the Latin verbal system. As Eastern ROMANIA soon lost contact with the rest of the Latin-speaking world, the change reached neither Romanian, nor, apparently, Dalmatian. The use of HAVE as perfect auxiliary did reach Eastern ROMANIA, where it was grammaticalized as the perfect auxiliary of all verbs in the Compound Past.

5.5. Copula Auxiliation

The change from copula BE to perfect auxiliary BE in the passage from Latin to the Romance languages also fits into the theory of Copula Auxiliation, as advocated by Dik (1987). According to Dik (1987:53), the term ‘Copula Auxiliation’ refers to the diachronic process whereby the copula comes to be used in such auxiliary functions as the passive (‘John **was** fired’) or the progressive (‘John **was** reading’). In what follows I will try to support Dik’s theory by applying it to the development of the Romance perfect auxiliary BE from the Latin copula *esse*.

5.5.1. Copula Auxiliation as a linguistic process

Dik’s study shows that Copula Auxiliation is a less remarkable change than it is often supposed to be since, on the one hand, the copula never has any independent meaning, so that no desemanticization is involved, and, on the other hand, both the copula and the copular auxiliary can be treated as supportive verbs, to be inserted into predications under certain grammatical conditions.

Dik (1983, 1987) argues that copular and auxiliary occurrences of *be* in English can all be described “by means of one and the same rule of Copula Support” (1987:56), that is, Dik explains, *be* can be “treated as a supportive device even in its auxiliary functions”. I argue that Dik’s theory is also valid for French, Italian, and Romanian and, implicitly, for all Romance languages, as shown in the analysis of the examples below:

(438) Fr. L’enfant **est** malade.

It. Il bambino **è** malato.

Rom. Copilul **este** bolnav.

‘The child is sick.’

(439) Fr. l’enfant qui **est** malade

It. il bambino che **è** malato

Rom. copilul care **este** bolnav

‘the child who is sick’

- (440) Fr. l'enfant malade
 It. il bambino malato
 Rom. copilul bolnav
 'the sick child'
- (441) Fr. Les garçons **sont** félicités par le professeur
 It. I bambini **sono** congratulati dal professore
 Rom. Băieții sînt felicități de profesor
 'The boys are congratulated by the teacher.'
- (442) Fr. les garçons qui **sont** félicités par le professeur
 It. I bambini che **sono** congratulati dal professore
 Rom. băieții care sînt felicități de profesor
 'the boys who are congratulated by the teacher'
- (443) Fr. les garçons félicités par le professeur
 It. I bambini congratulati dal professore
 Rom. băieții felicități de profesor
 'the boys congratulated by the teacher'
- (444) Fr. Les filles **sont** parties à la mer.
 It. Le bambine **sono** andate al mare
 'The girls have gone to the seaside.'
- (445) Fr. les filles qui **sont** parties à la mer
 It. le bambine che **sono** andate al mare
 'the girls who have gone to the seaside'
- (446) Fr. les filles parties à la mer
 It. le bambine andate al mare
 'the girls gone to the seaside'

Dik notes that the absence of copula in sentences similar to (440) does not affect the meaning of the sentence, just as the absence of the auxiliary in sentences

such as (443) does not make the construction less passive, and the absence of the auxiliary does not change the tense of the action. He concludes that the passive character of passive structures does not reside in the auxiliary, but in the past participle; equally, the perfect character of Compound Past structures does not reside in the auxiliary, but in the past participle. For English, the progressive character of structures like *be crying* resides in the present participle, not in the auxiliary *be*. Assuming the correctness of these assumptions, the status of BE in passive structures and in the Compound Past does not differ in many respects from the status it has in copular constructions; Dik claims it is a “supportive verb which is inserted into predications with non-verbal predicates in certain conditions” (1987:57). This claim translates into similar underlying structures, represented as follows:

(447) Sick (the child)

(448) Congratulated by the teacher (the boys)

(449) Gone to the seaside (the girls)

where (447) is the underlying structure for (438) – (440), (448) is the underlying structure for (441) – (443), and (449) for (444) – (446).

Dik argues similar observations can be made about Latin, where the copula *esse*, as well as the auxiliary *esse*, may not appear in the surface structure. Dik (1987:57) adduces the following examples:

(450) Ciceronem eximium consulem (esse) puto.

Cicero: Acc excellent:Acc consul:Acc (be) consider:1sg

‘I consider Cicero (to be) an excellent consul.’

(451) Ciceronem victum (esse) puto.

Cicero:Acc defeated:Acc (be) consider:1sg

‘I consider Cicero (to be) defeated.’

(452) Ciceronem cras venturum (esse) puto.

Cicero:Acc tomorrow coming:Fut.Acc (to be) consider:1sg

‘I think that Cicero will come tomorrow.’

Dik comments that (451) is no less passive perfect without the auxiliary *esse*; nor is (452) any less future active for the absence of the auxiliary *esse*. The general conclusion is that the relevant semantic aspects are not concentrated in *esse*, but in the participles which combine with *esse* in these types of structures.

Furthermore, Dik (1987:57-8) argues that Copula Auxiliation is rather a matter of gradual expansion into the domain of the verbal paradigm (in the sense of Heine & Reh (1982) of the acquisition of new grammatical functions by some grammatical element) rather than of desemanticization, as Meillet (1912:131) suggested. While in the case of HAVE the lexical verb entirely lost its original possessive meaning, in the case of BE the copula which comes to be used as a tense auxiliary retains some of its basic character of a “semantically empty supportive verb” (Dik 1987:58). In the first case it is the transition from a lexical verb with full meaning to a tense auxiliary with no proper meaning (see Chapter 4 for a detailed discussion of this issue). In the second case it is only a change in function, as neither copula nor the copular auxiliary has independent meaning.

5.5.2. The aspectual origin of Copula Auxiliation

Starting from the assumption that periphrastic structures containing a copula may synchronically have different functions, very often aspectual functions, Dik (1987:58-64) argues that Copula Auxiliation always originates in innovative aspectual forms which may later be interpreted in terms of tense and voice. A Late Latin example such as *In Pannonia deventi sunt* ‘They arrived in Pannonia’ indicates a perfect aspectual function and the structure, without any modification in its components, would eventually come to be interpreted in the Romance languages as a tense periphrasis.

According to Dik’s definition of Tense, Tense distinctions locate “some State of Affairs on the temporal axis in relation to the moment of speaking (absolute Tense) or to a reference point defined by some other State of Affairs (relative Tense)” (1987:59). Dik identifies three types of Aspect: (Im)Perfectivity, Phasal Aspect, and Quantificational Aspect (1987:60). Of these, Phasal Aspect distinctions are used to describe what is the case at some reference point on the temporal axis, in relation to the occurrence of some State of Affairs (1987:60). There are seven distinctions which can be labeled as Phasal Aspects and they include prospective, immediate prospective, ingressive, progressive, egressive, immediate perfect, and

perfect aspects (1987:61). Dik argues that Phasal Aspect distinctions can always be regarded as property-assigning structures: they ascribe a property to some entity x at some reference point r in relation to the occurrence of some State of Affairs involving x . Copular constructions, which are property-assigning structures par excellence, are especially suited for the expression of Phasal Aspect distinctions and this explains, in Dik's view, the reason why a copular structure comes to be reinterpreted as a tense or aspect structure.

In the case of the Romance Compound Past with BE functioning as perfect auxiliary, I argue that a perfect structure such as Fr. *il est parti* 'he has gone' would be read in Phasal Aspect distinctions terms as "it is stated at the moment of speaking that he is gone at the moment of speaking and that the State of Affairs 'he has gone' obtained before the moment of speaking". On the other hand, a copular structure such as Fr. *il est bon* 'he is good' could only be read as "it is stated at the moment of speaking that he is good at the moment of speaking". In a similar vein, a Late Latin structure such as *In Pannonia deveni sunt* 'They arrived in Pannonia' can be read as "it is stated at the moment of speaking that they arrived in Pannonia at the moment of speaking", i.e. resulting state from an action. The semantic nature of the past participle allows for an addition to this reading, in the forms of "the State of Affairs 'They arrived in Pannonia' obtained before the moment of speaking", i.e. the action plus the resulting state. In other words, the structure obtains a perfect interpretation and the original copula turns into a tense auxiliary.

5.5.3. Channels of Copula Auxiliation

When considering the ways by which copula comes to be interpreted as auxiliary, Dik (1987:64-73) argues in favor of two (possibly three) routes or channels:

1. the Localist channel, based on the metaphor whereby a state of Affairs is conceptualized as a spatial object which can be close to, enter, be in/on/at, and exit from;
2. the Property channel, where the property of being involved in such and such a way in some State of Affairs is assigned to x ;
3. possibly the Serial channel, although it is doubtful whether the relevant constructions can properly be called serial constructions.

I argue that the Property channel accounts for the historical development of the Latin copula *esse* into a perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages. According to Dik, the property channel is closely linked to Phasal aspect distinctions, which can be conceived of as property-assignment expressions. Thus, the Perfect is often expressed by structures of the following form (Dik 1987:68):

(453) John is (a person who is) having-won.

In Classical Latin, the perfect passive, which is made up of the present tense form of *esse* and a past participle, provides the standard expression of the Perfect (cf. the following example from Dik 1987:69):

(454) Caesar victus est
 Caesar having-been-defeated is
 ‘Caesar has been defeated.’

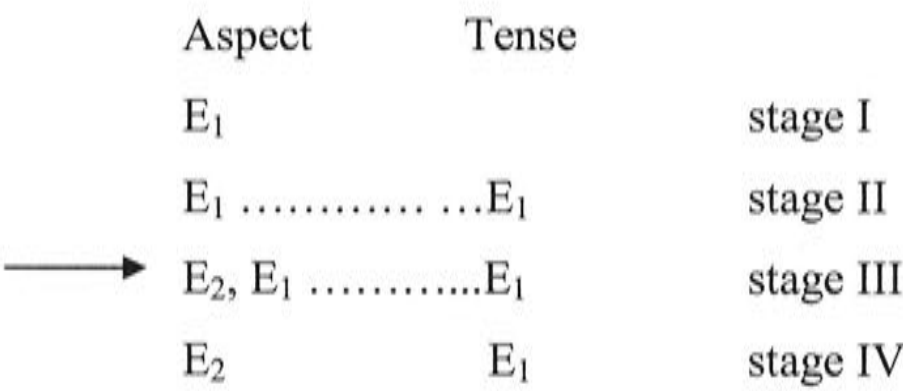
A similar reading may be given to Late Latin copular structures involving the past participle of intransitive verbs:

(455) In Pannonia **deventi sunt**
 in Pannonia arrived:m.pl are:3pl
 ‘They arrived in Pannonia.’

Or, in a translation of (455) above, ‘they are (persons who are) having arrived in Pannonia.’, which has clearly a perfect interpretation: “it is stated at the moment of speaking that they are in Pannonia at the moment of speaking and that the State of Affairs ‘they arrived in Pannonia’ obtained before the moment of speaking”. This interpretation also complies with Dik’s argument that the property channel often makes use of participles, as they are suitable for expressing properties which are defined in terms of verbal predicates (1987:70). It is important to mention here that both the Latin past participle and the copula are limited to one type of perfect meaning: present state of affairs that may be the result of an earlier action.

5.5.4. What causes Copula Auxiliation?

Dik argues that it is plausible that innovation of aspectual forms (and therefore Copula Auxiliation) comes about through the tendency of old aspectual forms to become reinterpreted in purely temporal forms. On the basis of Meillet’s work on this issue (1909, 1912, 1920), Dik claims it is likely that such innovation appears in a combined drag-chain and push-chain combination illustrated in the figure below (1987:75):



This figure has to be interpreted as follows: an original aspectual expression E₁ such as Old Latin *amavi* is partially reinterpreted as a temporal form in Classical Latin, i.e. it acquires purely temporal interpretations in certain contexts or occurrences, but it retains its original aspectual function in other contexts or occurrences (stage II). In these conditions, there comes the need for a new, unambiguous expression E₂ (i.e. the Compound Past form) for the aspectual distinction (stage III). Once this expression E₂ had been introduced, E₁ is free to shift fully to the temporal dimension (stage IV). This chain of events resembles the three stages of reanalysis described by Harris & Campbell (1995:82), including the issue of ambiguity, and discusses above in the previous sections.

In conclusion, Dik’s theory of Copula Auxiliation sustains the idea expressed in the beginning of this chapter that the Romance perfect auxiliary BE developed from Late Latin structures involving the copula *esse* and the newly created past participles of intransitive verbs. I have shown in this section that such structures comply with all the conditions necessary for copular structures to acquire temporal meaning and functions.

5.6. The history of auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages

Auxiliary selection is also present in some Germanic languages, such as Dutch and German, and there are plenty of synchronic accounts investigating the present state of auxiliary selection in these languages. There are also studies examining the historical development of the process, particularly in Old English, and its origins in the Germanic languages. If in the case of the Romance languages a connection was readily established between auxiliary selection and Latin deponent verbs, no similar correlation could have been found in the Germanic languages, as Gothic had no class of deponent verbs to influence in any way the development of a Compound Past form using the auxiliary BE. The periphrastic structure which could have served as a model was the passive, made up of BE and a past participle.

Mustanoja (1960:499) argues that it was quite frequent for Old English past participles to occur as predicate adjectives after *wesan/beon* ‘be’ and *habban* ‘have’. He believes that these predicative uses developed into new compound tenses indicating past action or state “with a certain bearing on the moment of speaking”, i.e. the present perfect, or “on another event or state in the past”, i.e. the pluperfect. Mitchell (1985:302-3) doubts the hypothesis that *beon/wesan* ever become a true perfect auxiliary. He argues that its original function was “to express the condition or state now attained, rather than the act of reaching it” (1985:304). A similar situation was found in Late Latin, as described above, but here BE underwent the transition from copula to perfect auxiliary, as attested in the Romance languages.

Shannon (1990) supports a synchronic and diachronic semantic approach to auxiliary selection in the Germanic (and Romance) languages based on the notion of transitivity proposed by Hopper & Thompson (1980) and the prototype theory developed especially within cognitive grammar (cf. Langacker 1987, Lakoff 1987). Shannon considers auxiliary selection in terms of high and low transitivity (as advocated by Hopper & Thompson 1980), with HAVE-selecting verbs being very high in transitivity. As BE-selecting verbs cannot always be classified as very low in transitivity, Shannon introduces the notion of mutativity to account for this category of verbs. Thus, the difference in the choice of the perfect auxiliary becomes the reflection of the difference between “prototypical transitive events” and “prototypical mutative events”. Prototypical transitive events select HAVE as perfect auxiliary and their properties are described below (cf. Shannon 1990:468):

(456) Prototypical transitive events

- Transpire in physical space
- Involve two entities that are differentiated from each other, from their setting and from the observer
- Involve two entities that participate in an interaction and are asymmetrically related
- Describe interactions in which the first participant moves toward and makes contact with the second participant
- Describe interactions in which the second participant is affected and reacts externally by changing state or moving

The mutative prototype is the prototype on which verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary are based.⁷⁶ Their characteristics are described below (cf. Shannon 1990:468):

(457) Prototypical mutative events

- Transpire in physical space
- Involve only a single entity, differentiated from the setting and from the observer
- Describe an event in which the single participant is affected and changes externally by changing state or position, i.e. by moving.

In case of verbs which do not fit either prototype, the choice of auxiliary ranges according to whether the verb is conceived of as most closely related to the transitives or to the mutatives. Shannon (1990:469) notes that “languages differ in what extensions from the prototype they sanction”, but these sanctions are neither arbitrary, nor universally predictable.

Shannon applies his theory to the development of the perfect auxiliary BE in German and shows that the first and most frequent intransitive verbs to appear with BE are *queman* ‘come’ and *werdan* ‘become’, which are very close to the mutative prototype. Other verbs which also fit the prototype and which are also used with BE

⁷⁶ Kytö (1997:17-8) brings evidence that in Early Modern English *be* was used especially with mutative verbs, but *have* started taking it over in contexts with “the emphasis on action and the notion of perfectivity”.

include *arsterban* ‘die’, *arstandan* ‘rise’, *arwerdan* ‘disappear’, and various forms of *gangan* and *faran*, both meaning ‘go’. Shannon claims that, in the case of the perfect auxiliary HAVE, there is a gradual extension from the transitive prototype to other verbs. Shannon (1990:471) argues a similar extension occurred in the case of BE-selecting verbs and that “gradual extension takes place in various directions until all verbs are covered by one of the perfect auxiliary”.

Shannon’s idea of gradual extension reminds of the semantic hierarchy of auxiliary selection built up by Sorace (2000) to account for Romance and Germanic languages as well.

(458) Sorace’s Auxiliary Selection Hierarchy (2000)

| | |
|--|--------------------------------|
| Change of location (e.g. ‘come’) | selects BE (least variation) |
| Change of state (e.g. ‘become’) | |
| Continuation of a pre-existing state (e.g. ‘stay’) | |
| Existence of state (e.g. ‘be’) | |
| Uncontrolled process (e.g. ‘tremble’) | |
| Controlled process (motional) (e.g. ‘swim’) | |
| Controlled process (nonmotional) (e.g. ‘talk’) | selects HAVE (least variation) |

On the basis of the above mentioned theories and taking into account Dik’s theory of Copula Auxiliation, it can be argued that BE started from the top of the hierarchy and gradually, but slowly, extended to semantic verb classes involving certain characteristics of states, whereas HAVE started from the bottom of the hierarchy and quickly covered the classes of verbs denoting different types of processes. The meeting point varies from language to language, but all verbal classes get an auxiliary or another. In the Romance languages, the case most interesting case of variation is found within Italian dialects (see section 2.5.5).

This short survey of the history of auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages shows that, apart from the well-recognized semantic similarities, auxiliary selection in the two language families has followed comparable steps in its historical development. HAVE underwent a similar transformation from verb expressing possession to perfect auxiliary. Moreover, there seems to be a common origin for the perfect auxiliary BE, namely copular structures containing intransitive past participles.

Chapter 6

Conclusions

By looking in more detail at lexical auxiliary selection in the modern Romance languages and at its origins and historical development, this thesis offers a larger perspective on the choice between the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE in this language family. The last chapter of this thesis includes a short summary of the findings of this study, a set of questions for further exploration of the issues raised by lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages in particular and in other language families in general, and some remarks on the broader implications of this study.

6.1. Summary

Lexical auxiliary selection is manifested in a number of Romance and Germanic languages, in which the auxiliary in the active ‘auxiliary + past participle’ structure (i.e. Compound Past, Pluperfect, Perfect Future, etc.) is not regularly HAVE, as it is in English, but either HAVE or BE, in a variation from language to language within the same family and from dialect to dialect within the same language. Several members of the Romance family of languages make use of the auxiliary BE for a special class of intransitive verbs, usually change of location and change of state verbs, and for reflexive verbs. The most widely held view about lexical auxiliary selection in Romance is that even though the two auxiliaries are attested in earlier stages of almost all languages, the use of BE as perfect auxiliary has declined in entire ROMANIA over the centuries. However, Italian dialects show considerable diversity in respect to auxiliary selection and BE tends to replace HAVE in some of the central dialects. Nevertheless, Spanish uses only HAVE, in Catalan BE occurs only in dialectal contexts, whereas in French, BE is used with approximately forty verbs. Modern Italian offers the strongest example of auxiliary selection, with nearly three hundred verbs selecting BE in their Compound Past. Apart from reflexes of *habere* and *esse, ter* (originally ‘hold’, now simply HAVE) is used as the auxiliary of

the Compound Past in Portuguese, e.g. *tenho feito* 'I have done', while in Catalan the Compound Past is formed with the present indicative of the verb *anar* 'go' and the infinitive of the main verb, e.g. *vaig arribar* 'I have arrived'.

This thesis investigates the process of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages from a new perspective which combines the synchronic and diachronic approaches. The aim of this thesis is to provide a fresh description of auxiliary selection in synchrony; to investigate the evolution of auxiliary selection in the history of the Romance languages, and to explain the origins of this process.

Lexical auxiliary selection is not a new topic in linguistics. A review of the varied literature on this topic shows that even though the term 'auxiliary selection' only became fashionable in the 1970's, studies on this phenomenon appear as early as the 19th century. Most studies separately discuss the structures involving the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE, the origins, development and syntactic behavior of HAVE receiving much more attention than its counterpart. The generally accepted view is that when BE is used as a perfect auxiliary the structure points to state or change of state, whereas the periphrases with HAVE indicate action.

Lexical auxiliary selection has also been studied in the framework of unaccusativity, which claims that intransitive verbs are divided into two sub-classes, generally labelled as 'unaccusatives' and 'unergatives', according to the different assignment of a theta-role to the subject position: the argument of an unaccusative verb is at the deepest syntactic level a direct object, while the argument of an unergative verb is a subject. From the different diagnostics which have been identified to predict the behaviour of intransitive verbs, auxiliary selection is the most frequently mentioned one, but studies have shown it is also unreliable.

The next category of studies on auxiliary selection focus on its main characteristics. There are two main directions in this respect: one concentrating on verbal semantics and claiming that the semantic properties of the main verb determine the choice of the perfect auxiliary and one dealing with the syntactical dimensions of auxiliary selection.

To sum up, it is notable that at different times linguists have offered different analyses of lexical auxiliary selection, which range from pure descriptive accounts to detailed investigations in particular frameworks. Several aspects have been taken into account, such as semantics, syntax, and sometimes historical development. The

modern Romance languages are amongst the most studied in this respect, special attention being paid to French and Italian.

Taking into account the numerous studies dealing with lexical auxiliary selection, one might think that yet another study would be unnecessary. On the basis of this literature review, I have considered that a comprehensive treatment of lexical auxiliary selection should include, beside a clear picture of its present day status, details of its historical evolution and origins. The aim of this thesis has been to focus on lexical auxiliary selection as it is manifested, both synchronically and diachronically, and as it emerged in the Romance family of languages. Consequently, the thesis offers an elaborate description of lexical auxiliary selection as it appears both in the modern Romance languages and in their earlier stages, leaving aside the sometimes inaccessible theoretical frameworks which have often been applied in approaches to this topic. This description, going from Western to Eastern ROMANIA, includes both well-known and well-studied Romance languages such as French and Italian and less-known languages such as Catalan, Occitan, and the Rhaeto-Romance languages, or languages such as Sardinian for which lexical auxiliary selection has only been described in a highly theoretical framework.

Chapter 2 shows that lexical auxiliary selection appears in six modern Romance languages: French, Catalan, Occitan, Italian, Sardinian, and Rhaeto-Romance. In French, the rule of auxiliary selection is more theoretical than practical. A predisposition for simplification is felt nowadays in modern French, manifested in the tendency for perfect active paradigms to use *avoir* in all situations. While linguists assume that *être* is still totally safe, at least in metropolitan French, the trend towards *avoir* proves to be stronger in French dialects spoken outside continental French, such as Canadian French. Auxiliary selection in Catalan is comparable to that in French, in that almost the same intransitive verbs select BE as perfect auxiliary (there is no mention in the literature in respect to the perfect auxiliary of reflexive verbs). The most striking difference is in the past participial agreement, which is more complicated in Catalan, with agreement determined by the presence or absence of clitic. Auxiliary selection in Occitan is also comparable to its French counterpart, but the number of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary is larger in Occitan. The most notable divergence in this respect is the verb 'be' itself.

The most complex case of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages is found in Italian and Italian dialects and many linguists have focused their research on this topic. Italian has the largest number of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary. Moreover, Italian is the only Romance language where impersonal verbs choose BE as perfect auxiliary, e.g. *è successo* 'it happened'. Other factors affecting auxiliary selection are the choice of person and of tense in some Italian dialects: e.g. *so' arrevato* 'I have arrived' (literally 'I am arrived') vs. *ha arrevato* 'he has arrived'; *hó arrevèto* 'I have arrived' vs. *fove arrevèto* 'I had arrived' (literally 'I was arrived'). Italian dialects vary considerably with respect to the choice of the perfect auxiliary, with the generalization of HAVE in the Northern dialects, a tendency to replace BE with HAVE in the Central dialects, and an extreme and flourishing variation in the South. Auxiliary selection in Sardinian is also a complex grammatical phenomenon and its complexity is comparable to that of Italian, with which it shares several common features, such as the use of BE with the perfect auxiliary BE and the ability to select BE in the presence of an additional complement. However, Sardinian proves to be more intricate than other Romance languages in that the selection of the perfect auxiliary also depends on the nature of the reflexive clitic accompanying the verb and there is variation in the perfect auxiliary of modal verbs. Auxiliary selection in the Rhaeto-Romance dialects resembles, on a smaller scale, its Italian counterpart, especially in the choice of the perfect auxiliary with reflexive verbs (e.g. *Je si a mitù:t a vai* (with HAVE) vs. *Je si e mitude a vai* (with BE) 'She began to cry') and in the variation of the perfect auxiliary according to person.

Despite the fact that some linguists claim lexical auxiliary selection appears in Romanian as well, there is no written evidence for the existence of lexical auxiliary selection at any stage of the historical development of Romanian. I argue that the instances where *a fi* appears accompanied by the participle of an intransitive verb, such as *este plecat* 'he is gone', are syntactically comparable to copular structures such as *este fericit* 'he is happy' and that they are in fact examples of copula and not of Compound Past. In other words, lexical auxiliary selection is not at all present in Modern Romanian, but it looks like it might be beginning to develop. Similar structures involving past participles of intransitive verbs appear in other Romance languages as well, such as French, cf. *il est grandi* 'he has grown', *il est*

vieilli 'he has grown old', and it is generally assumed that these periphrases involve a copula and an adjective. I suggest in Chapter 5 that the combinations of copula and past participles of intransitive verbs in Late Latin were the first stage in the development from copula to perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages.

The present day situation of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages is the result of historical semantic and syntactic changes which affected this process over the centuries. This aspect has very often been neglected in studies on auxiliary selection, particularly those in the framework of unaccusativity. I have tried to complete the synchronic overview of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages by providing a correspondent diachronic perspective. In the case of Portuguese, Catalan, French, Italian, and Romanian, the analyses are mainly based on my readings of old texts and personal interpretation of the examples of auxiliary selection I have gathered from both traditional and electronic sources.

Based on the diachronic analysis of lexical auxiliary selection in Spanish, Portuguese, Catalan, French, Occitan, and Italian, and on the synchronic analysis of the modern Romance languages, I have built up a hierarchy of the Romance languages according to the historical development of the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE. The members of this hierarchy correspond to the generally accepted geographic division of the Romance languages. It seems that the closest Romance languages to the original territory on which Latin was spoken present the most complex example of auxiliary selection. The bigger the distance from this area, the less complex auxiliary selection. The synchronic hierarchy might suggest that auxiliary selection appears only in Central ROMANIA and that it never reached the periphery, like Iberia or the Balkans. However, the diachronic analysis shows that this is not true, auxiliary selection being present at different stages almost everywhere in ROMANIA.

At one end of the hierarchy is Balkan Romance, i.e. Romanian (and Dalmatian), where there is no written evidence of lexical auxiliary selection, either in the old stages, or in the modern ones. HAVE is the only perfect auxiliary of the Compound Past tense. The next step in the hierarchy is represented by the Romance of Iberia, i.e. Spanish, Portuguese, and Catalan (in general). In these languages there is plenty of written evidence of lexical auxiliary selection in texts from earlier stages. However, no trace of lexical auxiliary selection appears in present-day languages. It is important to mention that each of these languages has generalized a different

perfect auxiliary: *haver* in Spanish, *ter* in Portuguese, and *anar* in some Catalan tenses. A further step in the hierarchy is represented by the Romance of Gaul, i.e. French and Occitan. Languages from this group have experienced a reduction in the number of intransitive verbs having BE as perfect auxiliary. The main characteristic of lexical auxiliary selection is variation according to the semantics of the verb only. A tendency towards the generalization of HAVE as perfect auxiliary has been observed in present-day languages. At the opposite end of the hierarchy one finds Italian, Rhaeto-Romance, and Sardinian, languages where the phenomenon of auxiliary selection is, and was (in Italian at least) very well represented and it is supported by variation according to a multitude of factors, both lexical and grammatical. Auxiliary selection in this group shows little inclination towards losing its power (as in the previously mentioned group, for instance).

The diachronic analysis of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages is taken further by the exploration of the Latin origins of the Compound Past periphrases using the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE in Chapter 4. Such an analysis is meant to contribute to a clear and comprehensive picture of all aspects involving the phenomenon of auxiliary selection.

The Compound Past tense did not exist in Latin. It appeared as a result of the dual function of forms such as *amavit*, which were used both as a preterite (indicating actions which took place in a period of time which is wholly past) and as a present perfect (expressing actions which took place, began to take place, or failed to take place in a past which is still in progress). The first function, that of preterite, survived in the Romance languages in the form of Simple Past, e.g. Fr. *chanta*, Rom. *cîntă*, It. *cantò*, etc. The latter function, that of present perfect, pointing to actions situated within a period of time which includes the present moment or seen as being still relevant at the present moment came gradually to be expressed through the grammaticalization of the periphrasis *habere* + past participle, e.g. Fr. *a chanté*, Rom. *a cîntat*, It. *ha cantato*, etc.

Despite the particular interpretations pertaining to the theoretical frameworks used in different studies, linguists agree that HAVE began to be used with the past participle of certain semantic verbal classes, particularly with verbs denoting knowledge acquisition or mental activities such as *cognitum habeo* 'I have found out'. By the presence and, implicitly, the lexical meaning of *habere*, the original meaning of the entire sentence pointed to the possession of the result of an action

and the central element came to be *habere*. Since *habere* is gradually semantically emptied, i.e. it is progressively losing its meaning of possession, the participle loses its adjectival value and acquires a verbal one within the new sentence. The final structure points thus to the action itself, the participle becoming the central element and the auxiliary *habere* expressing tense and person only.

As pointed out in the first chapter, the origins and history of the Romance Compound Past tense, and of the other compound tenses as well, using the auxiliary BE have been less studied and frequently ignored in linguistic accounts. The studies that do focus on this construction perceive it in relation with the Latin class of deponent verbs, which formed their perfect tenses by means of the auxiliary BE in the present and the past participle. Although this hypothesis came to be taken for granted by many Romance linguists, it raises several questions. First, an etymologic analysis of the class of intransitive verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages shows that these verbs did not belong to the Latin deponent class. Moreover, there is no connection between Romance reflexive verbs, a very large class which chooses BE as perfect auxiliary in all languages with auxiliary selection, and Latin deponents, as deponent markers were incompatible with the reflexive marker. Furthermore, several linguists who analyzed Latin deponents in detail claim that this class of verbs, the continuation of the intricate PIE middle voice, disappeared gradually and completely, leaving no traces in the Romance languages. I analyse deponent verbs in terms of their position within the Latin verbal system, their structure, both the *inflectum* and the *perfectum*, semantics and syntax during the history of the Latin language. Special attention is paid to the different possible classifications of Latin deponents and to their continuously oscillating behavior, which intrigued many generations of linguists. I show that the *inflectum* forms disappear together with the *perfectum* forms and that the few *perfectum* forms recorded from the 2nd to the 6th centuries cannot have served as a model for the Romance compound tenses using the auxiliary BE.

On the basis of the findings from Chapter 4, I argue that the origins of the Romance Compound Past tense form using the perfect auxiliary BE are not in the Latin deponent verbs. I suggest that the Romance structure developed from the use of the copula with the past participle of intransitive verbs in Late Latin. There is evidence that such structures appear between the 2nd and the 9th centuries AD, and that they include change of location verbs such as *devenio* ‘to come, arrive’ and

procēdo ‘to go forwards, advance’, and change of state verbs such as *obeo* ‘fall, perish, die’.

In diachronic syntactical terms, the change from copula to perfect auxiliary is interpreted in section 5.3 as the reanalysis of copular *esse* + past participle structure as perfect auxiliary *esse* + past participle, which was later actualized as the counterpart of the *habere* + past participle structure, which also expressed perfect action. This process is also interpreted as a Copula Auxiliation in section 5.5., according to the theory advocated by Dik 1987. This theory may successfully be applied to the hypothesis that the Late Latin copula *esse* came to be interpreted as perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages when used with past participle of intransitive verbs, particularly change of location and change of state verbs. Chapter 5 also brings evidence that a similar development took place in the Germanic languages. The example of lexical auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages also shows that Latin deponent verbs are not needed to explain the development of the perfect auxiliary BE in the Romance languages, as Gothic did not have any deponent verbs. In the case of the Romance languages, the *perfectum* structure of Latin deponent verbs might have provided the model for the Romance compound past tenses with BE. However, the impetus for the rise of lexical auxiliary selection must have come from factors common to both Romance and Germanic languages.

6.2. Evaluation

In this final chapter I will also include what I consider the broadest and most significant implications of this study of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. One major point underscored by this work is that purely synchronic analyses of auxiliary selection may provide inadequate explanations, as they do not extend well to all attested stages. In this thesis, the diachronic analysis completes the perspective on lexical auxiliary selection offered by the synchronic description.

The comparison between the synchronic and diachronic hierarchies of Romance languages according to the degree of complexity manifested in their lexical auxiliary selection brings out further details on the history of the phenomenon. Within the diachronic hierarchy, Balkan Romance and the Romance of Iberia form different groups, but they come together in the synchronic hierarchy. While Romanian remains the language with no attested sign of lexical auxiliary selection at

any stage of its development and HAVE as the only perfect auxiliary of the Compound Past, Spanish and Portuguese show plenty of written evidence of auxiliary selection in texts from earlier stages, but there is no trace of auxiliary selection in present-day languages. Standard Catalan also belongs to this group, but some of its modern dialects present similar manifestations in terms of auxiliary selection as French and Occitan, where a limited number of intransitive verbs select BE as perfect auxiliary. Diachronically, the number of intransitive verbs having BE as perfect auxiliary is smaller nowadays than it was at earlier stages of the languages. Synchronically, a tendency towards the generalization of HAVE as perfect auxiliary has been observed. The last group includes Central Romance languages and Italian is by far the most complex language in terms of auxiliary selection, followed by Sardinian and the Rhaeto-Romance dialects. In spite of the lack of information about the development of auxiliary selection in these languages, I show that auxiliary selection is well represented in the history of Italian and that it is supported by variation according to a multitude of factors, both semantic and grammatical. Auxiliary selection in this last group shows little inclination towards the grammaticalization of HAVE as the sole perfect auxiliary (as in French, for instance). Some Italian dialects even show a tendency towards the grammaticalization of BE.

The innovative approach to auxiliary selection offered by this thesis lies in providing access to synchronic and diachronic data from both well-known and less-known Romance languages and in offering an overall perspective of the present state of auxiliary selection in this language family, as well as a general overview of its historical evolution. My analysis is by and large based on descriptive grammars and language corpora, subject to limitations on availability of data, particularly in the case of earlier stages of the languages. I have also tried to present all the data in such a way that linguists working in different theoretical framework could study it.

My contribution to historical linguistics lies in the attempt to analyse the evolution of lexical auxiliary selection in several Romance languages. In addition, I have proposed a different account for the origins of the Romance Compound Past tense with the perfect auxiliary BE. Against the traditional view that the large class of Latin deponent verbs served as a model for the Romance compound form using BE as perfect auxiliary, I have suggested that it was actually the use of the copula with past participle of intransitive verbs in Late Latin that was reanalyzed as a perfect structure. Intransitive verbs in Classical Latin did not have a past participle form, but

they acquired one in Late Latin. These participles, predominantly those of verbs expressing change of location, appear in structures involving the copula *esse*, such as *processi erant*, *deventi sunt*, or *fugiti sunt*. I argue that on the basis of this type of periphrases the copula comes to be reanalyzed as a perfect auxiliary in the Romance languages and the whole structure is actualized as the counterpart of the emerging *habere* periphrasis. The new tense form made up of *habere* and a past participle appeared as a result of the dual function of the Latin perfect forms, which were used both as a preterite and as a perfect. But this new form, attested in Classical Latin, appears in the beginning only with certain semantic verbal classes, particularly those denoting a mental activity, and gradually expands to the other classes in Late Latin and Proto-Romance. Similar structures with *esse* are attested in Late Latin, so one can assume parallel developments. A possible scenario is the following. When *habere* as an auxiliary reaches verbs denoting a change in location or state, *esse* is already common with these verbs and does not allow for the further expansion of *habere*. Taking into consideration that the range of verbs selecting BE as perfect auxiliary differs from language to language and that auxiliary selection is fully at work as early as 1150 in French, one can assume the contact point between the evolution of the two perfect auxiliaries is located in Proto-Romance, followed by individual developments in each Romance language. In the case of Romanian, it is generally assumed that this language lost its auxiliary selection by the time of the earliest available documents (16th century). However, given the loss of contact with the Latin-speaking territory from the 6th century AD, it may be that Romanian has never actually had lexical auxiliary selection. Clearly, all these issues need to be thoroughly investigated.

6.3. Further research

The combination of synchronic and diachronic descriptions of lexical auxiliary selection in the Romance languages offered new dimensions to the current perception of this phenomenon, particularly to its origins and early development. At the same time, some issues have not yet been explained and new questions have emerged and are waiting for further research.

A first area concerns further investigation into the other Romance verbal tenses which make use of the perfect auxiliary BE, such as Pluperfect (cf. Fr. *j'étais*

parti ‘I had gone’), Future Perfect (cf. Fr. *je serai parti* ‘I will have gone’), Perfect Conditional (cf. Fr. *je serais parti* ‘I would have gone’), Perfect Subjunctive (cf. Fr. *que je sois parti* ‘that I had gone’), etc. Remember that in some Italian dialects there is variation in the selection of the perfect auxiliary according to tense, i.e. HAVE in the Compound Past and BE in the Pluperfect: *hó arrevèto* ‘I have arrived’ vs. *fove arrevèto* ‘I had arrived’ (literally ‘I was arrived’) (cf. Ledgeway 2000). It would be interesting to know if this type of variation is also present in other Romance languages or varieties and if auxiliary selection also affects other compound tenses.

For the synchronic part of lexical auxiliary selection, a more detailed documentation is needed for less studied modern Romance languages such as Catalan, Occitan, and the Rhaeto-Romance dialects. The focus should be placed on aspects such as past participial agreement and the behavior of reflexive verbs with respect to the perfect auxiliary they choose.

For the diachronic part of lexical auxiliary selection, some more data would be useful for a complete picture of the history of auxiliary selection in the Romance languages. Italian would definitely benefit from such a gathering of historical data since auxiliary selection in modern Italian, including dialects, shows the most complex example of all Romance languages and, therefore, its history is worth studying. A study of documents from different stages of development of the Italian language would be welcomed for a deeper understanding of the various facets of auxiliary selection in present day Italian. Portuguese is another Romance language which would benefit from a detailed documentation of the choice between the perfect auxiliaries HAVE and BE some verbs made before the complete grammaticalization of *ter* as perfect auxiliary.

This thesis has shown that the history of lexical auxiliary selection is determined by both syntactic and by semantic criteria. In addition, over the successive stages of development, various extralinguistic factors have influenced the choice of the perfect auxiliary. Esch (2002:111) argues that “the French educational policies of the Third Republic at the beginning of this (n.b. the last) century provide a good example of extra-linguistic factors leading to the merging of standard French and regional varieties of French via the medium of school instruction”. It is expected similar factors affected the evolution of auxiliary selection on other Romance languages as well. An investigation of these factors and of their impact on the

selection of the perfect auxiliary would add a new dimension to the understanding of this aspect of grammar.

Another suggestion for further research is a more ample cross-linguistic study of the Compound Past tense, including, beside Romance, other language families which display auxiliary selection. A possible example is the Germanic family. One of the most intriguing characteristics of auxiliary selection in the Germanic languages is that the perfect auxiliary of reflexive verbs is always HAVE, and not BE, as is the general rule in the Romance languages.

Despite the inevitable limitations, I believe this study has offered a fruitful exploration into the complex phenomenon of lexical auxiliary selection as it is manifested in the Romance languages. As it is now evident, a synchronic analysis is not enough for a comprehensive picture of this complex phenomenon. Diachronic perspectives cannot but help formulate a detailed representation of such an intricate aspect of language. I hope I have been able to lay the methodological foundations for further research in this particular area of linguistics.

Primary sources used in the diachronic analyses in Chapter 3

Portuguese:

Crónica Geral de Espanha de 1344 (14th century), vol. IV, critical edition of the Portuguese text by Luís Filipe Lindley Cintra Imprensa Nacional - Casa da Moeda, Lisboa 1990 (http://www.orbilat.com/Modern_Romance/Ibero-Romance/Portuguese/Texts/Portuguese-Texts-Cronica_Geral.html)

French:

"Textes de Français Ancien" (TFA) database, established by the Laboratoire de Français Ancien (LFA, University of Ottawa), in collaboration with the ARTFL Project (University of Chicago).

Italian:

Novellino (anonymous, 13th century), electronic version on *Scrineum*, a webpage containing medieval documents and books and hosted by Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Università degli Studi di Pavia (<http://lettere.unipv.it/scrineum/wight/novellino.htm>).

Romanian:

Scrisoarea lui Neacșu din Cîmpulung 'The Letter of Neacșu from Cîmpulung' (1521) (<http://www.cimec.ro/Istorie/neacsu/rom/scrisoare.htm>)

Însemnările de călătorie și de studii la Constantinopol, Veneția și Padova ale lui C. Cantacuzino ('C. Cantacuzino's Travel and Study Notes from Constantinople, Venice and Padua') – 17th century, in Florica Dimitrescu, 1973, *Contribuții la istoria limbii române vechi*. București: Editura didactică și pedagogică, pages 109-116.

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